

THE Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

VOL. XXXVII.—NEW SERIES, No. 1595.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14, 1876.

PRICE { UNSTAMPED.....5d.
STAMPED5½d.

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

WESLEYAN LAY REPRESENTATION.

THE organic change contemplated by the Wesleyan body, and somewhat elaborately discussed in the "Mixed Committee" last week, has been characterised by one of our weekly contemporaries—and that in no disrespectful spirit—as a "revolution." We cannot look at it in this light. We regard it rather as a development. We should say that, so far as we are able to understand it, it is nothing more than the unfolding to the light of day of principles which have always been included in Wesleyanism, and which, so far as they have been suppressed in practice, have been so in opposition to, rather than in conformity with, the entire bent of the system. Wesleyanism is not, in any proper sense, nor has it ever been from the time of John Wesley downwards, sacerdotalism. It can scarcely be said to have a clerical order. It puts no ecclesiastical distinction, pure and simple, between ministers and laymen. No doubt it assigns to the former special and somewhat arbitrary powers for the enforcement of discipline, and, in practice, it has prescribed for its unofficial members rules which they are bound to obey. No doubt, moreover, the entire body, or, as we may call it, the denomination, has been theoretically governed by a council of ministers, in which is vested the ecclesiastical property belonging to its several local communities. But for some years past there has been a growing tendency amongst Wesleyans to give a wider range to their original organisation. It is natural that such should have been the case. The body has prospered; it has absorbed into its system a vast accession of intelligence and wealth; and these by a law of their nature crave not merely recognition but representation in the management of the great interests which have grown up within the denominational pale. The laity, consequently, are seeking a share in the transaction of a considerable portion of those affairs which formerly lay exclusively in the hands of Conference; and, for the most part, they wish to do this withinside, and as part of, the Conference, rather than outside of it in the guise of a consultation committee. Such, in substance, is the question which was under discussion (not for the first time) last week, and which resulted in the following resolutions:—1st. "That in the opinion of this committee the time has now come when a comprehensive plan should be

devised for some direct and adequate representation of the laity in the transaction of the business of the Conference, in consistency with the recognised principles of our economy and the provisions of the Poll Deed"; and secondly, "That any plan devised for the direct and adequate representation of the laity in the transaction of the business of the Conference shall provide for the admission of laymen into Conference during the time when matters shall be dealt with and decided which are hereafter declared to be within the province of laymen, conjointly with ministers." Both these resolutions were carried by immense majorities—the first almost unanimously, and the second by eighty-six votes against three—fourteen of the members of the Mixed Committee present, which consisted of 103 persons, abstaining from the vote.

This decision is not to be regarded as formally and finally conclusive. It is a recommendation to the Conference, whose authority is required to carry it into effect. It is understood that there is no legal difficulty in the way of such an exercise of authority. The Conference can do it if it be so minded; and that it will be so minded there is not much room for doubt. It will have to choose between some loss of exclusively Ministerial power and an amount of disaffection which might easily and speedily, but certainly in the course of a few years, ripen into disruption. The laity, it should be remembered, hold the purse of the religious community. The property, it is true, does not legally vest in them, but as a very small proportion of that property consists of endowments they have practical command over the income of "the Connexion." It may, therefore, we think, be taken for granted (and of this the decisions of the Mixed Committee are strong evidence) that Conference will yield to the movement which has exhibited so incontestably its moral strength. The Reformers, if we may call them so, are really not immoderate in their demands. They do not seek to intermeddle with pastoral rights or pastoral duties. They desire to leave to Ministers all things which properly belong to the Ministerial office. They have not urged their claims in a passionate tone. Conscious of their power, they have been not only wisely but religiously abstinent in their display of it. They ask merely to take the place in their system which reasonably belongs to them, and although their accents are resolute, they are also reverential rather than peremptory.

How far the change recommended will be followed, if adopted, by a general change of feeling and sentiment in the whole body we shall not presume to anticipate with confidence. This only, we think, can be foreseen—that in the proportion of the space over which Wesleyanism, as organised, comes in contact with the spirit of the age, will be the liberalisation of its ideas and action in regard to the great questions awaiting practical settlement. Wesleyanism and Conservatism have until quite lately been closely associated. We do not know why it should have been so, nor if we thought we did, should we care to dwell upon it now. Our belief is that in regard to all that is not strictly identified with the religious machinery of the denomination, a rapid expansion of spirit—rather, perhaps, than of thought—will follow the change which seems to impend over the body. It will become, if we may so speak,

less technical in its views of human interests, less filled with the notion that Wesleyanism and nothing but Wesleyanism is entitled to its consideration and its active effort. It will stand towards the world upon a broader platform. It will recognise a wider responsibility. It will feel itself a debtor, not to the Connexion only, but to the larger world outside of it, and to the activities and special duties of membership it will add those of citizenship. Possibly, its methods of action will grow to be freer than they have been, even though its almost perfect ecclesiastical organisation should remain untouched. But, unquestionably, its voice will be more distinctly heard in most of those matters outside the boundaries of Wesleyan Methodism, which involve, to any large extent, the moral interests of society. We congratulate them upon the position which they have assumed. We think that they are about to increase immensely the scope of their influence, and their capability of entering into combination with others who in the main are like minded with themselves. And we devoutly trust that the present century will not have closed before the Christianity of Wesleyanism will be generally accepted by the body as of infinitely more importance both to individuals and to the nation than the supposed Wesleyanism of Christianity.

THE IMPENDING REVERSAL OF OUR EDUCATION POLICY.

CAN the Government Education Bill be so amended as to give reasonable satisfaction to the friends of religious equality? Or is it so irredeemably bad that the second reading ought to be resisted at all hazards, so that the responsibility for the mischief it will work may be left exclusively with its authors? Such in effect were the questions before the Conference held on Monday afternoon at the Westminster Palace Hotel. To these questions there appeared to be but one answer. Not one voice was raised in defence of the measure, and scarcely a hope was expressed that any amendments could make it even tolerable. Mr. John Glover, indeed, maintained the freedom of discussion by pointing out that there seemed no alternative but to make the best of a bad job. The feeling of the Conference, however, evidently was that there are times when a loud and indignant protest against injustice is better than any attempt to make a paltering bargain with it, and that the present crisis is one of them. This feeling was emphatically expressed by Sir Henry Havelock, Sir Charles Dilke, and Mr. Henry Richard, who all concurred in the opinion that the second reading ought not to pass without a vigorous challenge. Sir Henry Havelock said that "with an innocent appearance it was one of the most insidious measures ever placed before the country." Sir Charles Dilke declared that no one who had carefully studied its details, "could doubt that it was one of the most reactionary bills ever presented to Parliament; and that in his opinion it ought not to be allowed to pass the second reading without a distinctly hostile vote." Mr. Richard lamented, "with bitter regret and indignation, that they should be called upon again to fight that battle because of the constant efforts of so-called statesmen to convert the sacred cause of national education into an instrument of sectarian aggrandisement."

ment; and it was marvellous to him that the Liberal party did not see how the matter concerned, not Nonconformists merely, but the whole Liberal future of the country."

Our readers who have gone with us in our dissection of this ill-omened measure in various articles during the last month, will, we trust, not be surprised by these strong expressions of feeling. The truth is that the bill has been cleverly drawn, so as to distract attention from its reactionary tendencies, and to concentrate interest on its promised extension of compulsion. As was said at the Conference, the prominence given to the new principle of indirect compulsion in the fore-front of the measure is a mere feint, under cover of which the whole legislative energy of the bill is concentrated on an attempt to divert the grand current of educational progress in favour of the Established Church. We will not here repeat the arguments on which this conclusion is based. We can only refer once more to our articles of the last three weeks. But there is one point to which we invite the serious attention of some independent Liberals, whose cry is "compulsion at any price." Even gold may be bought too dear; but the mock gold watches sold in the streets for the delusion of children are probably dear at a penny. A genuine, consistent, and universal law of compulsion may possibly be worth a heavy price. But if we are going to barter away religious liberty, the conscience rights of the agricultural labourer, and the supremacy of the State over sectarian interests, let us at least be sure that the reward is to be paid down in sterling metal. Now the compulsion proposed in this bill is to be placed for the most part in the hands of local authorities, who have persistently opposed any liberal extension of education for the poor. It will necessarily be dependent upon their caprices. It is subject to exceptions because of hay harvests—sometimes happening twice in the year—corn harvests, and hop gatherings; the whole extending over several months. In the seasons when no possible harvests can be pleaded, "necessary domestic employment at home" is to be a sufficient excuse. And as if that were not enough, any "unavoidable cause" is added, so as to deprive an obscurantist local authority of any possible reason for compunction of conscience. Besides, a very serious blot, which has hitherto almost escaped attention, was pointed out at the Conference by the Rev. Benjamin Waugh. He showed that the provision for indirect compulsion would often practically amount to a prohibition of honest labour, combined with a permission for injurious and dangerous idleness. Children under ten years of age are prohibited from work, but the bill does not say that they must needs go to school. True, if their parents' neglect in this matter should attract the attention of a local authority often disposed to wink at it, a suspicious and even cruel remedy is provided by the threat of a summons before a clerical magistrate, and the alternative of an industrial school. But no one can doubt that, under such miserably weak legislation, thousands of children will spend the important years between six and ten, playing in puddles, or hanging about stables and public-house doors. Thus the law may positively encourage juvenile idleness; and we are old-fashioned enough to believe, with good old Dr. Watts, in the dangerous officiousness of the powers of evil in such cases. We hear a good deal in these times of philosophic Liberalism which much affects superiority to the controversies of churches and the fears of conscience. But surely any disposition to risk the traditional principles of Liberalism for such a miserable make-believe as this boasted indirect compulsion would be the very quintessence of pedantry.

But what is to be done? What is the use of arguing with the master of thirty legions, or a Ministry with the majority of a hundred? There are times when we scarcely care to ask what is the use. We hold what we believe to be principles of truth and fairness, and we are bound to make a protest in their favour, whether that protest be followed by any consequences or not. But this the whole history of the Liberal party proves—that its noblest successes have been gained not by finesse and barter and compromise, but by a bold insistence on the moral basis of its position. It was this which gave not only incisiveness, but practical power to the logic of Mr. Cobden. And this inspired the noblest efforts of Mr. Bright's eloquence. If every man in England who holds this threatened measure to be thoroughly bad would say so outright in public meetings, by petitions, by letters to his Parliamentary representatives, the late period of the Session would offer many convenient excuses for the withdrawal of a bill,

which does not secure even the enthusiastic approval of the clergy. Sir James Graham's bill, which in 1843 roused the country from end to end was by no means so bad as this, because at that time, whatever privileges were guaranteed to the Establishment, no one dared to propose that under the insidious pretext of compulsory education it should be armed with the power of persecution. But this latest fruit of the unholy alliance between piousness and priestcraft unites all the defects with all the excesses that can make an educational law hateful. It makes idleness compulsory, and instruction uncertain. For the first time since the Toleration Act, it attempts compulsory legislation without any effective guarantee for the rights of conscience. It makes the extent and mode of compulsion dependent on the convenience of farmers and the sectarian interests of the clergy. It concentrates in one man, the parson of the parish, offices at present distributed between the school board, the attendance committee, the school board visitor, and the magistrate. It makes it possible to break up a whole family because of the religious convictions of the father. It tends to do away with all vestige of voluntarism in the support of denominational schools, while it continues and enriches the privileges of voluntary management. And for the operation of this special injustice it selects not the rural districts, where the results of ecclesiastical neglect might furnish some excuse for special provision, but the great centres of population, where school board triumphs have made such interference unnecessary and impertinent. Not merely in the interest of the Liberal party, but for the sake of consistency with our noblest traditions, and for the credit of the national name, we hope that there will yet be such a demonstration of popular feeling as shall forbid the perpetration of this iniquity.

THE DISESTABLISHMENT MOVEMENT.

MR. GORDON'S MEETINGS.

KING'S NORTON, NEAR BIRMINGHAM. — On Tuesday evening last, on arriving in this village, Mr. Gordon and Mr. Hastings, district agent, with their chairman, Mr. A. Arnold, found the village fest in full operation on the green, their intended place of meeting. Bands and banners, and riotous men and women, and young men and maidens were parading about, the old church looking down complacently upon the scene. By-and-bye Mr. Arnold literally "cried" a meeting in the Baptist Chapel, and thither a few earnest persons wandered, and a short earnest meeting was held, rather to organise for another meeting than anything else. Several earnest friends made themselves known, and, in this respect, the best was done that could.

BERKSWELL. — Next evening the same gentlemen were under the noble clump of trees in the centre of this beautiful village, and a capital time of it they had. There was a fair number of people, for the district, and the proceedings were enlivened by the interruptions and opposition of a Mr. Henry, several persons, male and female, in the audience, assisting the speakers in pointing their replies to that gentleman. Emphatic resolution unanimously carried, Mr. Henry having "moved on."

FILLONGLEY. — On the following evening, the same trio of Liberation evangelists were at the parsonage gates in this village, and had a still better—and warmer!—reception. A heavy storm had once prevented a similar meeting, and this time the elements looked threatening, but thought better of it. The audience included several farmers, in their traps, and the speakers were assisted by Mr. H. Taylor, Emigration Commissioner for the Australian Government, and late of the Labourers' Union. The proceedings were protracted, but all went on swimmingly, two or three demonstrative opponents getting their own, with interest.

GREAT MEETINGS OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS ON HAM HILL. — On Whit Monday the labourers met in great numbers in the old Roman Amphitheatre, Ham Hill, Somersetshire. Headed by a number of brass bands, they marched through Yeovil and intervening villages, to the well-known "Frying Pan," where an immense meeting was held; there being not less than fifteen thousand persons present. Mr. G. Mitchell, "One from the Plough," was voted to the chair. There was much pointed and vigorous speaking by the chairman, Mr. Biggar, M.P., Mr. Lenthall, of Cheltenham, the Rev. W. W. Jubb, of Bristol, and others. Mr. Jubb, in submitting a motion in favour of disestablishment and disendowment, said he asked them to adopt it because the State Church had failed to Christianise the people. The Dissenting bodies, without State patronage or pay, did more than half the work of evangelising the masses. If ever there was a claim for the Church to be established on the ground that it represented Protestant principles that claim no longer existed. Sometimes people asked what would be the result if the Church were disestablished? The answer often given was that religion would die out in the villages. That was put forth in all earnestness. What did it mean? Not exactly what the words conveyed. He knew many clergymen who were examples of purity of life, and nobility of character

—one of whom was well known to them—Canon Girdlestone. (Cheers.) There were a great many more. But the plea meant this: "If you take away the influence which the State gives they will not preach." Men would live after the Church was disestablished, and there would be good men then. They would be able to preach, so far as their capacities permitted, as well after as before disestablishment. Then why not remain in the villages and preach the truth as they had preached it before? The answer was—because State influence and pay were withdrawn. Such a plea was a reflection upon Christian life and character. He believed that many of the clergy would be as true to the Church after as they were before disestablishment. Another reason for the maintenance of the Establishment was that it put an educated gentleman into every parish. Whatever the Church of England had failed in doing, he admitted that it had succeeded in making and educating gentlemen. But had it not the means of doing so? Who had all the national institutions? He advocated disendowment as well as disestablishment—not like the Irish Church, which, though disestablished, was not wholly disendowed ("Hear, hear," from Mr. Biggar.) The Church of England was sure to be disestablished, and the parsons, squires, and landowners knew it. But it was better to wait fifty years and have the work done effectually than now have it only partially done. He then spoke of the part taken by the Church against Parliamentary reform in 1832 and against the abolition of slavery. The support by the clergy to Mr. Disraeli's slave circulars showed that they had no very great detestation of slavery. The Establishment was against the Corn Law Agitation and the abolition of Church-rates, and the clergy were against a truly national system of education. They were also opposed to the Burials Bill, but Dissenters intended not to be satisfied with anything less than Mr. Osborne Morgan's Bill, which would eventually be carried. The resolution was carried with great heartiness and unanimity.

MR. HOPGOOD ON DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT.

At the annual conference of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, held in Essex-street Chapel, Mr. Joseph Lupton, of Leeds, in the chair, Mr. JAMES HOPGOOD read a paper on "Disestablishment from a Layman's Point of View." After some prefatory remarks, he said he took his stand on the ground that the arrangements under which the Established Church existed were essentially unjust, and he proceeded to show how, as he contended, justice might be done at comparatively small cost of money or inconvenience. The total number of consecrated churches in England and Wales was, he said, about 16,000, from which number must be deducted between four and five thousand erected during the present century, leaving about 11,000 churches which might fairly be deemed parish churches in the strictest sense of the word. Supposing the Legislature, with a view to disestablishment, were to enact that henceforth no new nomination to a living should be made by any patron, whether Queen, archbishop, bishop, college, or lay patron, what would be the result? Would it be very terrible? Let them see. 1. Every parish would go on exactly as it did at present until the incumbent died. In due time his widow and family would leave the parsonage. 2. The Episcopalians or church-goers, finding themselves without a minister, must provide one if they wanted one, and of course must pay him for his services; and they would not have to build a church, because the parish church would be all ready for them under some reasonable arrangements to be made with their fellow-parishioners. The private patrons of livings must of course be compensated for the extinguishment of their rights, and the total value ascertained by sales by auction and private contract to be about 23,000,000*l.*, might easily be raised by the State and paid to the patrons, leaving the amount to be repaid by the parish with interest, on the death of the incumbent, out of the sale moneys of the rectory, glebe lands, and tithes, the balance being retained by the parishes for such purposes as the Legislature might determine. 3. It would not be difficult to arrange that on the death of the incumbent of a parish, the parish church, the churchyard, the parsonage, glebe, and tithes, should vest in the parishioners, to be dealt with by a parish board for the benefit of the parish generally, each case being regulated according to circumstances. This gradual process was better than any hasty settlement. Could it be said that the Established Church was absolutely unendurable? Must it be stamped out like the cattle plague? Could they not wait until the present incumbents had departed in peace? Calculating on facts well established, they might say that within one year from the passing of the Disestablishment Act at least 250 incumbencies would become vacant, that nearly the same number would fall in the second year, and so on in decreasing numbers every year, so that in thirty or forty years there would be but few survivors. The four or five thousand churches built mainly by private munificence during the present century stood on an altogether different footing from the ancient parish churches, and must be dealt with in a different manner, avoiding even the appearance of confiscation. He thought that in that case arrangements should be made by which, as far as possible, every private benefaction given within a reasonable time should be restored to the benefactor or his family. Where the

church was built by private subscription he would say let it belong to the congregation worshipping therein, who should have an absolute right to a point their minister and make all other necessary arrangements, carefully providing that all their arrangements should be revocable from time to time, so as to give their successors full power to regulate all matters as to them should seem meet. As regarded the cathedrals, he thought that no change should take place during the lives of the bishops and deans, but that after their death those buildings and all the estates connected therewith should be taken under the management of the State, and be held for national purposes. In conclusion Mr. Hoggood said:—

I cannot close my paper without a slight reference to churches which have not yet come under our consideration. In the first place I would say that, under any circumstances we must leave the City of London out of consideration in any general scheme—its position is so abnormal, there being churches, without parishes, and parishes without churches, that it must be dealt with specially. So, passing it by, I will make a few remarks in relation to the 4,000 or 5,000 churches which do not come strictly within the description of parish churches as before defined. These churches have been built during the present century—they have been built under a great variety of circumstances—some have been built entirely or mainly by private munificence—some by private subscription, with or without State aid—others by rates levied on the parish or district. I need not say that these churches stand on altogether a different footing from the ancient parish churches, and must be dealt with on a different principle. With reference to the latter, I have proceeded on the obvious principle of bare justice. As regards them I say, restore to the parish what belongs to the parish, but as to these other churches we must proceed on general principles of policy, and public convenience, not overlooking honesty. I shall have my audience with me when I say that we must avoid, as far as possible, even the appearance of confiscation, and therefore I say that arrangements must be made by which, as far as possible, every private benefaction, given within a reasonable time, shall be restored to the benefactor or his family. Where the church has been built by private subscription I would say let it belong to the congregation worshipping therein, making due provision, as may easily be done, for the legal constitution of a congregation, giving them the absolute right to appoint their ministers and make all other necessary arrangements, but carefully providing that all their arrangements shall be revocable from time to time, so as to give our successors full power to regulate all matters as to them shall seem meet; this in fact would be to create these churches into independent churches, giving them power to tie their own hands, if they have a hankering after bondage, but confining the chains to their own wrists.

Another clause in our proposed Disestablishment Act would be, that henceforth no more archbishops or bishops should be appointed by the Crown—so that in a few years there would be no bishops or archbishops in the House of Lords. Of course it would be open to congregations to elect bishops and to confer on them such powers as might be thought advisable; but this would only be a personal privilege to which in a public point of view there can be no objection, and the appointment of a bishop by the Church would certainly be preferable to political appointments as now made.

This forbids me to enter into the question of cathedrals and other buildings which belong to the country; my view is that no change should take place during the lives of existing bishops and deans, but that after their respective deaths these buildings and all the estates connected therewith should be taken under the management of the State and be held for national purposes.

The views which I have here hastily enunciated were given to the public (in another form) two years ago in an article in the *Contemporary Review* and also in a pamphlet published in May of last year. Since then I have given the matter much consideration, and have had many opportunities of hearing arguments for and against disestablishment and the mode of effecting it; the result has been a confirmation of my original conviction that, dealt with in a calm and statesmanlike manner, and with a scrupulous regard to principles of justice, it may be effected without excitement, struggle, or heat—so tranquilly, in fact, that in a vast number of cases the change will be almost imperceptible, except so far as it is a money question, when the payment of ministers is concerned; and I earnestly hope that it may be so effected, but I earnestly hope that no fear of excitement, struggle, or heat will induce the Nonconformists of this country to agree to any scheme, or any compromise whatever, which shall in the least degree be inconsistent with absolute and entire religious, social, and civil, equality.

The Rev. J. E. ODGERS said those who were advocates of disestablishment and disendowment should be very careful, lest by indiscriminately exciting public opinion, they enabled a clever Ministry to make this, which should be a great national emancipation, a means of creating a new and overpowering sectarian influence. The question for the present should be fought out on all kinds of subsidiary grounds, such as the Burial Bill, in order that the general principle of the rights of the nation and the individual might be so asserted as to render it impossible to disestablish the Church without the recognition of those rights to the full. In conclusion he expressed a wish that Mr. Hoggood's paper might be put into a permanent form, as throwing very clear light on the coming national question.

The Rev. J. C. STREET said he earnestly and strongly repudiated any disestablishment like that which had taken place in Ireland in the year 1870. One of the requirements of that Act was that the Episcopal Church should organise itself into a corporation. That was a very grave and serious mistake. What right had the State to say that a Church should re-establish itself? Besides that, the Act gave such extraordinary opportunities to ecclesiastical tricksters that many portions of Ireland managed to secure to themselves larger material

advantages than they ever possessed in the palmiest days of Establishment. In the province of Ulster, for instance, very much larger funds had been left at the disposal of the Disestablished Church than were at their disposal before the disestablishment took place—and with this painful difference, that while the churches were connected with the State there was a sort of liberty allowed; but that had been completely stamped out by the very Act which enabled the churches to draw the bonds of subscription tighter than they ever were before. He was, therefore, glad to believe that it was generally felt by Liberationists that whenever disestablishment took place in England it should not take place on the lines of the Irish Disestablishment.

The Rev. H. S. SOLLAY said the great thing that was wanted now was to prepare the way for disestablishment rather than to hasten it on, and the question whether the Liberation Society deserved support depended upon whether it was spreading true views on the subject of religious equality, or simply trying to hasten on disestablishment and afford a Conservative ministry a chance of turning round suddenly and saying, "We will disestablish, but we will make our own terms." He recommended that there should be more lectures throughout the country on the subject of religious equality, and if that were done he anticipated that great good would result. Mr. Hoggood had referred to a number of churches that had been founded by private benefaction, but there was an aspect of the question which was scarcely ever touched upon. Rich men had endowed churches in connection with the Established Church with money which had been earned by their fathers, who were Dissenters, and the sons gave the money to the Established Church, not because they specially sympathised with its doctrines or mode of government, but because it was the National Church; and he therefore thought that these modern churches should, in some respects, be dealt with just as the old parish churches. At the meetings of the Church Defence Association the arguments rested upon notions of abstract right which could not for one moment be accepted, and he therefore thought there was great room at the present time for trying to spread ideas with regard to religious equality, showing what it was and what it was not—what would be, in short, confiscation, and what would only be a perfectly fair and equitable adjustment of the rights of the people of England.

The Rev. S. A. STEINTHAL considered that the weakness of the Liberation Society had been the absence of a definite plan for disestablishment, and he hoped the committee which was shortly to report on the subject would remedy that defect. He had always advocated the principles of religious equality, but had been unable to join the society because he could not understand what its practical scheme was. He had an intense objection to the endowment of theological opinions, but not to the endowment of religion. All religious endowments ought to be controlled by the Government, so that no mere passing opinion should be allowed the right of permanent endowment. If the Ptolemaic system of astronomy had been endowed it would still have its advocates, and so long as theological opinions were endowed some men would be ready to sell their souls for the bribe.

The Rev. P. W. CLAYDEN thought the paper and the discussion which had taken place upon it afforded most striking evidence of the work of the Liberation Society, for not many years ago there would have been a very general chorus of desire for that delightful illusion of comprehension which was inherited from our Presbyterian ancestors. Mr. Hoggood's scheme would enable the inhabitants of a parish to have in their parish church the ministers whose views they approved of. In some parts of Germany the churches were occupied by Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and other Protestants in turn.

The Rev. H. W. CROSSKEY said he was a member of the Committee of the Liberation Society appointed to draw up a scheme of disestablishment and disendowment, and he might without any breach of confidence state that that scheme would be submitted to the executive committee within a fortnight, and then, if passed, would be issued for the consideration of the country. The committee were unanimous in deprecating any following of the example of the disestablishment of the Irish Church.

The Rev. A. W. WORTHINGTON said the Established Church was yearly being more and more established by the purchase of cemeteries out of the rates, and the dedication of the buildings in which the funeral services were to be performed. Any action towards disestablishment should also aim at stopping this progressive establishment.

Mr. HOGGOOD, in reply, said he was also a member of the Committee of the Liberation Society, but the views expressed in his paper were in print a year before the formation of the committee, and it must not therefore be supposed for a moment that he was breaking the secrets of the committee. The Conference then terminated.

CHURCHMEN AND NONCONFORMISTS AT CAMBRIDGE.

The dismissal of Mr. F. C. Maxwell, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, from the situation of Assistant Master of the Perse Grammar School, which is under the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, has attracted considerable attention and caused some excitement among the Nonconformists of the town. Mr. Maxwell, who is the son of a Wesleyan

Minister, had held his mastership for five years. He had been appointed by the Rev. F. Heppenstall, M.A., the Head Master of the School. Nine months ago Mr. Heppenstall became head-master of the Sedburgh Grammar School, and was succeeded by Mr. J. B. Allen, M.A., late of New College, Oxford. It was he who dismissed Mr. Maxwell, under the circumstances explained in letters, copies of which have been sent to us for publication. The first letter from Mr. Allen to Mr. Maxwell is as follows:—

Perse Grammar School, Cambridge, April 22, 1876.
Dear Mr. Maxwell,—Now that the athletic sports are over, I have leisure to write to you on a subject which I should have mentioned to you earlier in the holidays, had I not been prevented by stress of work. Having now had experience of the school for two terms, I have come to the decision that it is not desirable for the well working of the staff of masters I am seeking to introduce, nor for the interests of the school generally, that you should continue much longer with us. I have many reasons for my decision, but it will be enough to state one or two. In the first place, you were not of my choosing. You were selected by Mr. Heppenstall, who, I believe, esteemed your services highly, and having been honoured by the choice of such a head master, you cannot, I am sure, feel that it is any serious disparagement of your merits when I tell you that I should certainly not have chosen you, had I been in his place. The fact of your religious creed being different from my own, and from that which I wish to see universal among my masters, would have at once decided me to decline your application; and there are also other reasons which I will not state, unless you particularly desire me to do so. Secondly, there is a certain difference of social position between yourself and the majority of the other members of my staff, which neither you nor they would probably desire to alter, but which is a complete barrier to the unanimity of sentiment and intercourse which I wish to see prevailing among us. I will not dwell upon this point further than to mention that all more important colleagues share my views as to the inconvenience of working with a fellow-master with whom they do not care to associate out of school. There is a third matter upon which I wish to speak. You have occasionally hinted informally to me that you expected to receive an increase of salary as soon as the income of the school justified further remuneration to masters. From what I have said above, you will, no doubt, be prepared to hear that I do not think it would be my duty, in the interests of the school, to recommend to the governors any such increase in your case, both for the reasons already mentioned, and also because I think that a man equally well qualified with yourself, as regards University distinctions, &c., as well as better satisfying my requirements in other respects, might be obtained for a salary of the same amount as yours. I do not name any definite time for your leaving us, as I wish to give you the amplest opportunities for looking about you, and deciding on your future course of action. And in requesting you to consider yourself under notice to leave, I must earnestly beg of you to dismiss from your mind any idea that I bear you the smallest particle of illwill. I am heartily glad to see your house filling with boarders (who will, of course, go with you), as it relieves me of the fear lest, in separating you from the school, I should be seriously injuring you in pocket, and should you need any assistance from me in obtaining another appointment, I shall be very glad to do the best for you that lies in my power. My full appreciation of the zeal and heartiness which you have displayed in school matters make it all the more painful to me to be now the cause, possibly, of deep disappointment to you, as regards your views for some time to come. It is only the firm conviction that I am doing what is best for the interests of the school, and for the establishment of a regimen best suited for our welfare, that has led me to the step I am now taking.

I am, yours very truly,
(Signed) J. B. ALLEN.
F. C. Maxwell, Esq.

In reply to this letter, Mr. Maxwell asked why his creed was objectionable, and informed Mr. Allen that although a Nonconformist himself, he had several pupils—boarders in his house—who were the sons of Churchmen. Mr. Maxwell also asked for further explanations. He received the following reply:—

Perse Grammar School, Cambridge, April 29, 1876.
Dear Mr. Maxwell,—I enclose you a testimonial. Having received your letter of this morning, I for once reopen the correspondence to say that neither to the governors nor to any one else shall I allege any other reasons than those I have already mentioned to yourself. The number of Churchmen's sons among your boarders is a matter of perfect indifference to me. A Churchman myself, I object to a Nonconformist colleague, and no considerations could affect my views upon the point.

I am, yours faithfully,
(Signed) J. B. ALLEN.

The following is the testimonial referred to:—

Mr. F. C. Maxwell was Assistant Master in the Perse Grammar School for five years under the late Headmaster, Mr. Heppenstall, and has continued in that position for two terms under myself. I am parting with him now solely in order to suit certain arrangements of my own, which I need not specify, and I heartily wish him all the success which his merits deserve, as he is a man of high-minded and honourable character, and undagging energy and perseverance. Mr. Maxwell's abilities as an instructor in the higher branches of education can better be attested by Mr. Heppenstall, who at one time employed him in the senior school than myself. I may, however, mention that he has frequently prepared undergraduates for the University examination, and that one of the University examiners lately remarked to me in private conversation upon the thoroughness and careful preparation exhibited by all the pupils of Mr. Maxwell. But, as headmaster of our junior school, which is the post he has always held under me, I can speak with confidence of him as a most energetic and painstaking teacher in all branches of a commercial and mercantile education. He has taught Latin (Virgil, Cæsar, &c.), English literature, history, geography, arithmetic,

mensuration, &c. He has also a knowledge of French, and I have availed myself of his services in teaching the language to one of my school classes. He is a very competent drawing-master, and the school prize for this subject (open to senior and junior alike) has almost invariably been won by his pupils. He is, I may add, a rigid and effective disciplinarian, and has always been a most obliging and willing assistant to me. Mr. Maxwell has shown himself as zealous for our interests when out of school, as he is when in it. For several years in succession, he has voluntarily undertaken the task of organising and conducting the annual school entertainment, consisting of vocal and dramatic performances, while in the cricket-field he has always taken a leading part, and done much by his energy and perseverance to keep together the school clubs.

(Signed)

JOHN BARLOW ALLEN, M.A., Headmaster of the Perse Grammar School, Cambridge, and late Scholar of New College, Oxford.

A certificate, dated the 15th May, from Mr. Heppenstall, who for ten and a-half years was headmaster of the Perse School, shows what was the opinion entertained of him by that gentleman. It is as follows:—

School House, Sedburgh, May 15, 1876.

This is to certify that F. C. Maxwell, Esq., M.A., of St. John's Coll., Cambridge, was a colleague of mine for several years while I was headmaster of the Perse Grammar School, Cambridge. During the whole of that time I found him a zealous, conscientious, pleasant, and effective helper. He declined to make use of the cane, when all the other masters were allowed to use it, and yet he maintained a high standard of discipline, and taught his boys to work cheerfully and vigorously. He was always popular with the boys, and took part in all their amusements and games. His methods of teaching are interesting and intelligent, securing the attention and arousing the activity of his pupils; nor did he fail (as many masters do) to overcome the idleness, or help the stupidity, of the weaker boys. On the whole, I have never had a master in whom I could place more confidence, or from whose work I got more assistance. On his first appointment he took the English subjects and part of the classical work (including elementary Latin verse and prose) of Forms IV., III., and II. All this work was done to my satisfaction. Some time after his appointment the Perse School received a new scheme from the Endowed School Commissioners; by this a junior school was formed for boys who wished to leave school at the age of sixteen. I at once felt that Mr. Maxwell was exactly the man for such a school, and at my request he undertook the charge of it. Subject only to my general supervision, he had the whole control and moulding of the mixed mass of boys who were draughted from all parts of our school as previously constituted. With great energy and skill he got them into good discipline and working order; and when I left Cambridge there was a good prospect that the junior school would form an excellent training for middle class boys who wished to leave school at an early age—a training good enough for boys, too, who wished to pass the local examinations of the two Universities, or the preliminary examinations required for boys wishing to be chemists, surgeons, or solicitors. With regard to the subjects which Mr. Maxwell can teach, I can state that he taught for me, and taught well, the classical work above-mentioned, French, arithmetic, Algebra, Euclid, geography, history, Scripture, English grammar, and drawing. He has prepared undergraduates of the University of Cambridge for the previous examination, and he has prepared pupils of the Perse School for the preliminary examinations above mentioned, and other pupils for the Cambridge local examinations. I shall be glad to hear always of Mr. Maxwell's success, as I feel sure that it will be deserved by his unflagging zeal, his self-denial in school, his thorough devotion to a schoolmaster's work, and his thorough Christian integrity exhibited in every detail of duty.

Some of the governors of the Perse School are appointed by the town council, and the question was on Thursday brought, by Mr. Cockerell, before that body. At the outset, however, all discussion on the subject was objected to on the part of Mr. Alderman Reed. One councillor remarked that, however they might stifle discussion in that council chamber they could not outside. The voting was equal, and the mayor, by his casting vote, excluded the introduction of the question.

THE WESLEYANS AND LAY REPRESENTATION.

The question of reconstituting the Wesleyan Conference by the introduction of the lay element was on Tuesday last week, considered by a large committee of ministers and laymen assembled in London. In the absence of the President, owing to a temporary illness, Dr. Punshon took the chair. The Rev. William Arthur, for want of voice and from ill-health, was unable to address the meeting, but a statement of his views was read for him by the Rev. T. B. Stephenson, B.A. Mr. Arthur stated that for many years the common counsel and mutual co-operation of ministers and laymen had been growing among them, and with increasing advantages to both classes. The question of lay representation among Wesleyans had arisen in the United States, in Canada, and in Australia, and they could not but expect that it would arise among the Wesleyans in England. Mr. Arthur referred to some expressions which Dr. Bunting used to him in his last days, from which he inferred that Dr. Bunting meant to convey to him his opinion that the time would come when the ministers and laymen would be more closely associated in the business of Methodism. The question before them was not one of orders or interests, but of principles, and he was thankful that no mere class interests had come into play. Looking at what was asked for by their laymen in the matter of lay representation, he saw no great difficulty in the way of their

arriving at a good and adequate settlement of the question, for, unlike former demands, the present one left all the pastoral functions undisturbed. The proposal of a mixed body of ministers and laymen was the proper growth and fruit of their constitution. Their experience in the district meetings had shown them that ministers and laymen could work well together. Mr. H. H. Fowler suggested that Mr. Arthur's speech should be printed, and the latter gentleman agreed to leave his manuscript in the hands of the committee. A prolonged conversational discussion then took place. Ultimately, the following resolution, proposed by Mr. Vanner, and seconded by Mr. Waddy, M.P., was put to the meeting, an overwhelming majority voting for it, and none against it:—

That in the opinion of this committee the time has now come when a comprehensive plan should be devised for some direct and adequate representation of the laity in the transaction of the business of the Conference, consistently with the recognised principles of our economy and the provisions of the Poll Deed.

The discussion was continued on Wednesday when the following motion was proposed:—

That any plan devised for the direct and adequate representation of the laity in the transaction of the business of the Conference shall provide for the admission of laymen into Conference during the time when the matters shall be dealt with and decided which are hereafter declared to be within the province of laymen, conjointly with ministers.

This was carried by 86 against 3. During the voting 103 members of the committee were present, and as soon as the issue was declared, there was considerable expression of surprise at the practical unanimity of the decision.

At the meeting of the committee on Thursday, Dr. Punshon in the chair, Mr. Bunting moved that—

The Conference, when the laymen are present, shall consist of the President of the Conference for the time being, and an equal number of ministers and laymen; that all ministers permitted by the district meetings to attend the Ministerial Conference shall be entitled to attend, also, the meeting of the Conference when the laymen are present and to speak if of ten years' standing, but not to vote, unless elected to the body, when laymen are present.

Mr. Moore seconded Mr. Bunting's resolution—first, because, if they had only a few lay representatives they would always be rich men; and secondly, because inequality of numbers would be no final settlement. The Rev. S. Tindall moved an amendment to the effect that the Conference should direct its immediate attention to the number of ministers attending Conference, and that all ministers having permission to attend should share in the proceedings of the mixed representative body both by speaking and voting. Mr. Rees seconded Mr. Tindall's amendment. Mr. H. H. Fowler considered the arguments of Mr. Bunting unanswerable, but the difficulties of equality of numbers appeared to be insurmountable. Mr. Waddy, M.P., said the numbers in the departmental committees which administered their affairs during the year were half ministers and half laymen, and if this was the proportion out of the Conference, why should it not be the same in it? He believed that Mr. Bunting's was the only logical principle, yet he should vote for Mr. Fowler's suggestion as the most practical. The Rev. W. Hurst thought that on practical, though not on logical, grounds it would be better not to go for equality of numbers. The Rev. G. T. Perks said that in the past all their committees had consisted of an equal number of ministers and laymen. He appreciated the suggestions of Mr. Fowler and Mr. Waddy, but he preferred Mr. Bunting's resolution in favour of equality of numbers. Mr. Atkinson did not think it at all needful to have an equality of numbers. If they began with equal numbers it might not be found to work well, and would be difficult to alter. He was sure that the people were not so anxious about equal numbers as to agitate for it. Mr. Alderman M'Arthur, M.P., thought the true principle was to have an equal number of ministers and laymen, and if this were not adopted there would be agitation. Mr. Bezeley said that if the principle of equality were right, the people would ask why it was not acted upon. The Chairman was most unwilling to express an opinion from the chair, but he thought the only logical and rightful settlement was equality of numbers; but, on the other hand, there was the great difficulty of many ministers giving up their privilege of attending the Conference, and in some way or other the difficulty must be met. Many of the ministers would feel as if they were shut off from all part in the formation of laws and responsibilities which they would be obliged to administer. If they solved this difficulty, they would get out of their greatest peril, and they must show that all they could do had been generously done. A vote was taken as to whether they should send a recommendation to the Conference at all on the question of equality of numbers, and it was decided in favour of sending a recommendation by an overwhelming majority. The Rev. S. Tindall withdrew his amendment in favour of a suggestion by the Rev. M. O'Brien, that during the sessions of the Conference when laymen are present it is desirable that the number of ministers entitled to vote in the transaction of the business shall be limited to those ministers of ten years' standing who, pursuant to the numbers allocated by the preceding Conference, have been authorised by the district committees to attend the Conference. The vote was then taken. There were 17 for Mr. O'Brien's amendment, and about 59 against it. Mr.

Bunting's resolution was then carried by 70 votes against 6. Ninety-three gentlemen were present when the vote was taken; and so it was decided that there should be as representatives in the Conference an equal number of ministers and laymen. The following resolution, moved by Mr. Fowler, and seconded by Mr. Waddy, was carried unanimously:—

This meeting feels bound to record its deliberate conviction that the changes which are now proposed will not impair the integrity of the pastoral office, the inviolability of the connexional principle, or the authority of the district committees, and to declare its adherence to, and its fixed purpose to uphold, those essential principles of Wesleyan Methodism.

The following resolution was also adopted:

That no new law proposed by the Conference when the laymen shall be present shall be in force until it shall have been submitted to the district meetings, and their report (if any) forwarded to the next annual meeting of the Conference when laymen are present, and such new law confirmed by the Conference.

It was decided by vote that the mixed body should consist of 440 members, and it was agreed that one-fourth of the lay moiety of the mixed body, including the representatives of departments, be elected at each Conference for the next Conference. It was also agreed that the qualification for a lay representative should be as follows:—Laymen eligible for election to the mixed Conference shall be members of the society of five years' continuous standing at the time of their nomination, and holding the office of chapel trustee, leader, circuit, chapel, or poor steward, or local preacher. It was agreed that a sub-committee of twelve ministers and twelve laymen should be appointed to deal with the remainder of the questions and arrangements necessary to complete the scheme for lay representation, and that they should report the results of their deliberations to the committee, which should meet again in London before the Conference. The following gentlemen are the members of the sub-committee:—The President and Secretary of the Conference, the Revs. G. T. Perks, Dr. Stamp, J. Bedford, Dr. Jobson, A. M'Alay, G. W. Oliver, T. B. Stephenson, J. Bond, S. Tindall, Dr. James, R. N. Young, and Messrs. W. F. Smith, T. P. Bunting, H. Atkinson, G. Sidgett, J. S. Vanner, M'Arthur, Sir F. Lycett, Newburn, Cooper, May, Fowler, and Hoyle.

The Archbishop of Cologne has been summoned to take his trial before the secular court on the 28th inst. The Crown demands his deposition.

M. Herzog, Pastor of Berne, has accepted the dignity of bishop, to which he has been elected by the Synod of the National Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland.

Mr. Hyacinthe Loyson is to give a series of addresses in the French language, "On the Prospects of Christendom," and will explain his views as one of the "Old Catholics." The first will be delivered this day, at St. George's Hall, Langham-place, at four o'clock.

PARISHIONERS AND THEIR PASTORS IN ITALY.—The parish of Villa Rotta, in the diocese of Gualtalla, has petitioned the Minister of Grace and Justice to recognise Don Corrado Farina, who has been unanimously elected by the heads of families to the cure, but is opposed by Monsignor Benassi, the bishop.

SECESSION TO THE CHURCH.—The Rev. J. C. Williams (Cenlanydd), pastor of the Welsh Baptist Church at Amlwch, Anglesea, has joined the Church of England, and on Sunday last officiated as curate for the first time at the Amlwch parish church. He was educated at the Welsh Baptist College of Llangollen, and previous to taking charge of the Amlwch Baptist Chapel he was for some years a minister in the town of Denbigh. At the last Eisteddfod, held in Newport, Mr. Williams won two of the leading prizes for prose and poetry.—Hour.

THE BAPTISTS AND THE BURIALS BILL.—At the annual conference of the Baptist Churches of Yorkshire, held at Huddersfield on Thursday, a resolution was passed, on the motion of the Rev. Dr. Green, to the effect that the association unanimously renewed its assertion of the equal right of the whole community to burial in parochial churchyards, and declaring the restriction of the right to conduct burial services therein to the Established clergy to be unjust and vexatious. Particular protest was made against the denial of the offices of religion in the interment of the unbaptized as pressing with peculiar, and often intolerable hardship on the Baptist denomination.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPLAINS IN INDIA.—It appears from a Parliamentary paper issued on Friday that the subject of an increased allowance to Roman Catholic chaplains for our soldiers in India having been referred by Lord Salisbury to the Indian Government, the Viceroy in Council, in a despatch dated March 3, 1876, recommended increased allowances as follows:—Twenty priests of not less than fifteen years' standing to receive monthly allowances of 300 rupees; twenty-four of not less than twenty years' service 250 rupees; and thirty-two, 200 rupees; with twenty-six horse allowances of thirty rupees each. The total increased cost incurred by these proposals would be 85,740rs. about 8,570l. a year.

THE OLD CATHOLICS.—Last week in Bonn was held the third synod of the Old Catholics. There were present thirty-one priests and seventy-six delegates from Old Catholic communities. On Wednesday it was opened. After the usual ceremonies Dr. von Schulte read the report of the condition of the movement. According to it, there

are now 35 communities in Prussia, 44 in Baden, 5 in Hesse, 2 in Birkenfeld, 31 in Bavaria, and 1 in Wurttemberg. The whole number of persons belonging to it is 17,203; in Bavaria 10,110, in Hesse 1,042, in Oldenburg 249, in Wurttemberg 223. The number of Old Catholic priests is in Germany 60. The rest of the meeting was devoted to the discussion of regulations regarding the ritual. In the afternoon Dr. Schulte reported on the motions respecting celibacy. Many opinions were expressed, and the discussion was not closed till the following day, when it was agreed to pass over all motions on the subject to the Order of the Day. It was further agreed to leave it to the representatives to decide when the question should again be brought before the synod. It was also decided that processions were no longer in accordance with the spirit of the age, and that, therefore, no new ones should be introduced, and that any proposals to change those already in existence should be laid before the representatives.

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM ON CLERGYMEN AS MAGISTRATES.—In responding for the clergy at a recent luncheon given in connection with the reopening of St. Giles's Church, Durham, Bishop Baring protested against employing clergymen as justices of the peace. "Influential laymen said, 'I have my duties to attend to; I must go out hunting, and cannot spare time to attend the bench of magistrates; I must have my shooting, and I cannot give up my sports for the bench of magistrates'; and yet there must be a certain number on the bench, and some will put in the parson. The clergyman, tickled by the honour proposed to be done him, unwisely consented to take the office, and he was the one expected always to be on the bench; he was the one who had to give up far more important duties for the sake of attending the bench, and in doing so he placed a most serious obstacle in the way of his ministerial influence. Tom Smith was charged with poaching, and the case being clear, he was convicted by the parson, and then every relation of Tom Smith to the tenth degree of consanguinity in the parish was grievously hurt and offended. They thought their cousin perfectly innocent, and that at all events he ought to have been let off. The magistrate, however, must do justice, and the result was, that Tom Smith and all his friends and relations had their hearts hardened against the ministrations of the clergyman. If they did not shut their doors, at least they shut their hearts against him. Nothing could have a more serious influence upon the clergyman being on the commission of the peace and acting as magistrate."

"A HIGH-CHURCH RECTOR" AND THE EVANGELICALS.—Mr. Arthur Clayden writes to us:—"The letter of a 'High-Church Rector,' which appeared in your columns last week, was more than usually fraught with matter for earnest and thoughtful consideration. It appears to me of great importance that there should be open to such a writer a channel of communication of the breadth and Catholicity of the *Nonconformist*. We all lose incalculably through the rigidity of our standpoint. I will never believe that Episcopalians could act towards Nonconformists as they frequently do, if like your Catholic-spirited correspondent they were to descend from their balloons, and go in and out amongst us, and see us as we really are. Your correspondent has inadvertently written a splendid apology for Dissent in his trenchant attack upon the Evangelical position in the Establishment. I am quite at a loss to conceive how the blows are to be parried by the Low-Church school. As I read the merciless logic, I thought of a clergyman whom I have had under observation for twenty years. He is the vicar of a rural parish, and somewhat notorious for his ultra-Evangelicalism. Very painful has it been to notice the perpetual vacillations and moral weaknesses superinduced by the only too evident consciousness of the untenableness of his position—the morbid sensitiveness to all allusions to the subject, the excessive irritability under attack, the unworthy shifts resorted to, the utter want of manliness in his general deportment, and the shambling sort of gait which seems to be for ever saying 'Don't say anything about it, I know I appear a sorry humbug, but I hardly see my way out of the wood, God help me!' I wish it were possible to believe that the Ithuriel spear of your correspondent would pierce the flimsy apology for argument in which these, in many respects, worthy men enshroud themselves. The harm done to the sacred cause of truth by their moral obliquity is incalculable. An atmosphere of unreality perpetually surrounds them. The men and women who gather round them and constitute their more or less obsequious following, are often the mere scoff and byword of their respective localities; not on account of their Christlikeness and moral work, but because of their narrowmindedness, their pharisaism, and their inconceivable general littleness. 'Like priest, like people' is only too literally fulfilled in their experience, and truth is slaughtered in the house of its friends."

THE BISHOP OF LONDON AND THE "ROCK."—In a lecture on "Churchyards and Gravestones," recently delivered at Saltfleet, by the Rev. J. H. Lummis, the following paragraph was quoted from the *Rock* of January 30, 1874:—

Will it be believed that Bishop Jackson, while strongly deprecating, in a conversation with the late J. C. Colquhoun, the prosecution of Mr. Bennett, remarked that "if the doctrine of the Real Presence were authoritatively condemned, at least 150 clergy in his late diocese (Lincoln) would go into lay communion"? This statement having given offence to the Rev.

F. Fresney, vicar of Skidbroke, he at once wrote to the Bishop of London to inquire as to its correctness, when his lordship made answer as follows:—

London House, S.W., March 6th, 1876.—My dear Sir, —I need hardly say I never said or thought anything of the sort.—Faithfully yours, J. LONDON.

This letter has appeared in several newspapers, and as the bishop thus curtly denies the truth of what Mr. Colquhoun said, we immediately put ourselves in communication with two of that lamented gentleman's most intimate friends, Mr. Nugent and Mr. Bateman, each of whom, in reply to our inquiry, has most distinctly affirmed the substantial accuracy of the paragraph complained of;—so far as regards the fact of Mr. Colquhoun's having used the words imputed to him. Mr. Colquhoun, it is well known, had a most tenacious memory, nor was he at all given to exaggeration; and as no one would suspect either the bishop or himself of wilful misrepresentation, it seems far more probable that the former should have forgotten what he said than that the latter should have freely circulated a report of an imaginary conversation.—*From the Rock*.

"INFIDELITY AND DISSENT."—The following correspondence has been published in the *Manchester Examiner and Times*:—

Lower Norwood, S.E., May, 1876.

Dear Sir,—We are very anxious to secure 1,000*l.* before Michaelmas to enable us to begin a mission to a large and poor population, who are sunk in infidelity and Dissent here. Will you kindly send us at least 1*l.* toward this much-needed work, which has the sanction and support of our diocesan?

Yours truly,

C. A. W. READE.

Sir Elkanah Armitage.

Halton Bank, Pendleton, May 29, 1876.

Reverend Sir,—The letter you have addressed to my father, Sir Elkanah Armitage, has been handed to me, as his state of health does not permit him to engage in correspondence.

You are pleased to invite him to subscribe towards the expenses of a mission for the benefit of the poor of Lower Norwood, whom you describe as "sunk in infidelity and Dissent."

Permit me in reply to inform you that my father is himself a Dissenter, and therefore one of the same class as those for whom your mission is intended.

I may add that throughout his life he has been in the habit of contributing largely towards the Christian body to which he belongs, and has often had the pleasure of extending his liberality to objects which seemed to him deserving in connection with your own denomination.

As, however, he is not prepared to change his own ecclesiastical position, he can hardly be expected to subscribe towards the conversion of his fellow Dissenters at Norwood.

I assume that in asking my father to subscribe to your mission you know nothing of him personally, or you would not have addressed him in terms implying that the members of the religious communion to which he belongs are to be classed with infidels.

I am, reverend sir, yours &c.,

BENJAMIN ARMITAGE.

Religious and Denominational News.

WANDSWORTH TERCENTENARY MEMORIAL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

Rather more than three years ago we recorded an interesting meeting at Wandsworth, held to inaugurate a movement just originated in connection with the Congregational Church at Wandsworth, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Daniel Bloomfield James, for providing additional accommodation for a congregation which was already outgrowing the capacity of the then existing chapel, and, in so doing, to commemorate the three-hundredth anniversary of a notable event in the history of religious liberty in England, this event being the establishment of a Nonconformist community known as the "Presbytery of Wandsworth," in 1573. Although the history of this early church is involved in some obscurity, tradition has located it upon a site near the parish church; where, unquestionably, Nonconformist worship was, with few interruptions, maintained successively by the small body of Puritans by whom it was founded in the reign of Elizabeth, by a subsequent congregation of Huguenot refugees, and, ultimately, by a church of which the early memories are identified with the labours of the Rev. Rowland Hill, and the Village Itinerancy Society that afterwards blossomed into the Hackney Theological Seminary, now known as Hackney College, to which body the venerable building, altered and enlarged from time to time, still belongs. In this time honoured, though obscure and unsightly building, the existing Congregational Church of Wandsworth assembled for worship until 1862, when a more convenient and attractive chapel was erected on East Hill, and in it a large Sunday-school and other evangelistic agencies are still maintained by the same church.

The movement thus commenced in 1873, though not attracting so much support as was hoped for from the Nonconformist body at large, has been steadily followed up by the congregation and its immediate friends; and on Wednesday last the enlarged building, which may fairly claim to be considered as a new, commodious, and beautiful structure, was, though not quite completed, opened for public worship. Taking advantage of the opening of a new road which afforded a commanding frontage at right angles with that of the chapel

erected in 1862, additional ground has been obtained, and that building, which afforded accommodation for barely 500 hearers, has been converted into the transept of a new one of cruciform plan, with comfortable space for more than 1,000 sittings. The body of the new building consists of a nave and aisles, separated by columns and arches so judiciously disposed as to afford very little interruption to sight and hearing. The greater part of the congregation are seated on the ground-floor, which rises with a gentle slope from the transept to the new entrance; but light and airy galleries across each end of the transept materially increase the accommodation. A shallow recess in the place of a chancel, terminating in a lofty gable with an ornamental circular window, gives a noble architectural effect to the building, and affords space for a dais, upon which is erected a very chaste and beautiful pulpit of stone and alabaster, presented by Mr. Joseph Toms, and which will also afford space for suitable provision, not yet completed, for the administration of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper. An excellent organ is placed in a recess to the left hand of this chancel. The works have been carried out by Messrs. Adamson, who erected the original building, under the designs and supervision of Mr. E. C. Robins, who was heartily congratulated on the skill with which he has accomplished a work of some special difficulty, and combined the old and new portions of the structure into a most satisfactory and harmonious whole.

In the opening services the Rev. Joseph Parker, D.D., of the City Temple, preached in the morning from Jeremiah ii. 10, 11; the Rev. Henry Simon, of Westminster Chapel, offered the dedication prayer; and several other ministers took part, the Rev. J. Morlais Jones, of Lewisham, preaching in the evening from the latter clause of 2 Samuel xiv. 14. The attendance on both occasions was large, and it was especially gratifying to see the number of ministers, both of the Congregational body and of other denominations, many of them from a considerable distance, who expressed their lively interest in the cause, and their fraternal sympathy with the pastor, by their hearty greetings. Between the services a large body of visitors and friends adjourned to the spacious schoolroom lately erected in the rear of the Baptist chapel on East Hill, which was kindly lent for the occasion by the Rev. F. Marchant and his deacons, and where, after a substantial cold collation, presided over by Henry Wright, Esq., J.P., appropriate speeches were made by the chairman, the Revs. Dr. Parker, Mark Wilks, G. S. Ingram, T. Stephenson, C. Winter, F. Marchant, D. B. James, and by other gentlemen. In the course of the proceedings Mr. J. T. Stanesby made a statement on the part of the building committee, from which it appeared that the total cost of the additional land and the new building was estimated at rather more than 4,500*l.*; that towards this amount about 3,000*l.* had been raised before the opening day, including a grant of 100*l.* and a loan, without interest of 400*l.*, from the London Congregational Chapel Building Society, and 460*l.* advanced by various friends on 10*l.* debentures, bearing interest at 5 per cent., and that the collection at the morning service, and the amounts handed in at its close upon collecting cards, had amounted to about 470*l.* This amount was subsequently increased, by promises given in the room, and by the evening collection, to about 640*l.*, thus leaving a sum of nearly 1,000*l.* to be raised for the completion of the undertaking, irrespective of the amount advanced by temporary loans, which the committee hope to be enabled to repay without difficulty from the future subscriptions of the congregation. They make, however, an earnest appeal for help in raising the 900*l.* or 1,000*l.* still needed to complete the cost of the works, that the energies of the pastor may not be cramped by the pressure of debt, and that those of the church and congregation may the sooner be set free for further efforts for the benefit of the increasing population growing up around them.

On Sunday last the opening services were continued by sermons in the morning by the Rev. Henry Simon, and in the evening by the pastor of the church.

OPENING OF HAWKSTONE HALL, KENNINGTON ROAD.

On Monday, the hall which has been erected in connection with the Rev. Newman Hall's new church in the Westminster Bridge-road, was opened. The first meeting was held at mid-day when there was a good attendance, chiefly of members of the congregation. Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., presided, supported by the Revs. Newman Hall, Aubrey C. Price, G. W. McCre, G. M. Murphy, H. Grainger, John Foster, T. Morgan, &c. The doxology was first sung, and the Rev. Newman Hall offered prayer. A hymn was then sung, and the chairman addressed the meeting.

Mr. MORLEY said he thought it would have been more appropriate if the chair had been occupied by his honoured friend Mr. Hall, but as he had expressed a wish that he (the chairman) should preside, he had no option, because there was no man in London or in England more inclined to help and encourage him in the work he had so long carried on than himself. He had watched his course of service with joy and thankfulness. As a Londoner born and bred, having lived all his life in that great city, he felt thankful for such men as Newman Hall, and he was there to express his congratulations and

his thankfulness at the accomplishment of that work, and his earnest desire that God's blessing might rest upon it. He felt persuaded they would never touch the people of London unless they entered into their social condition and sought to lift them from the mire. There were thousands who, if they knew the state of things amongst the population of London would be restless until they had found out some agency which would benefit them. Many Christians were content to live comfortable easy lives, and satisfy themselves by giving contributions. He believed that when our Lord said, preach the Gospel to every creature, He did not speak to ministers only. He saw in the character of that building a desire to meet that want, and he had no doubt it would be used well, and that the adjoining building would not be desecrated by anything done there to get the people away from the drink, which he held to be the greatest curse of the day. The special object of the meeting that day was to seek God's blessing upon that building, and he did not wish to say anything to lead them away from that object, but he would be thankful if he could lodge in the minds of Christian people a sense of their individual responsibility. There were at least a million persons in London who never entered church or chapel, and they had to be sought out. It was not enough to erect great buildings, and he did not believe in any legislative act making people better, but if Christian people would go and speak to their poorer brethren it would have great results. He congratulated them on the accomplishment of their object in the erection of that building, and was very sanguine that great good would result from it. (Applause.)

After singing, and prayer by the Rev. H. GRAINGER, the Rev. NEWMAN HALL said the chairman had asked him to make a statement explanatory of their purpose. As to the name—Hawtstone Hall was the seat of the Hill family. Rowland Hill was born there, and on the centenary of his birth it was proposed to do something to commemorate his name, and a fund was raised, which was employed chiefly for educational purposes. The lease of a building in the Waterloo-road was purchased where day and Sunday-schools, temperance meetings, and other benevolent agencies were carried on. The South-Western Railway took possession of that building, and paid 3,500*l.* for it, and it had been in Chancery until they could find another Hawtstone Hall to take its place. That was the only contribution they had from the Rowland Hill fund towards the 60,000*l.* which the buildings they had erected would cost. That hall was to take the place of the old one, and they purposed to have Scriptural, but unsectarian education for children of the poor—only teaching them about Christ, and not minding to what denomination their parents belonged. They had now thirteen or fourteen Sunday-schools with upwards of 5,000 scholars and about 400 teachers—Baptists, Methodists, Independents, and Church of England, all being welcome to their schools. Another part of their work was the advocacy of total abstinence. It was no part of their church organisation, but they all combined in the earnest desire to win the people from habits of drink. They thought it necessary to have something positive to offer as a substitute, and that places devoted to religious purposes might be used as counter-attractions to the public-house. It was very difficult for a clergyman in London to go from house to house and visit the families, but he thought it would be well if each one set apart an evening and had a drawing-room entertainment to which his poorer brethren might be invited to come and hear about his travels, or something he had been reading. There were three things people wanted—bread for their natural life, prayer for their spiritual life, and pleasure for their social nature. Multitudes around them had no opportunity of getting the latter, and he thought it was just as consistent for a Christian church to provide for that as it was to have soup kitchens in time of need. (Hear, hear.) They wanted to have concerts, secular and scientific lectures, and for the rich and poor to meet together, so that the different classes of society might be knit together. It was a frightful thing to see the division of classes in London, and they wanted to knit them together in loving sympathy. They had a Benevolent Society which had been in existence ninety-one years, and had distributed some 40,000*l.* by means of visitors at the houses of the sick poor. They had a Bible nurse, who went about from house to house nursing, clothing societies, penny banks, and other agencies. The hall would be let for benevolent purposes when not required by themselves, and they hoped it would be used every night for purposes calculated to promote the well-being of the people. The entire cost would be about 90,000*l.* Contributions had been received from Unitarians, from members of the Jewish persuasion, and from Episcopalians, citizens, and merchants, who recognised the unsectarian character of this work. All but 500*l.* of the amount had been obtained, and though they did not ask for money at that meeting they trusted the balance would soon be raised. (Cheers.)

Rev. AUBREY C. PRICE, vicar of St. James's, Clapham, said as a very humble officer in the one army led by the Great Captain of the Lord's host, he wanted to say how heartily he congratulated their very excellent minister, and prayed with his whole soul that the great Head of the Church would long spare him to preach Jesus, and that he might have many jewels in His crown. He agreed with all his

heart in what the Chairman and Mr. Hall had said, and would like to say that when he was in Manchester he tried to have a religious service in a schoolroom, but could only get four women to attend. He then invited the men to come and hear a book read, and in a short time he had the room filled with 500 working men. In less than six months a deputation of those men waited on him and asked him to resume the religious service. He did so, and they all attended. He disliked the idea of dividing a man's life into two parts, and calling one part sacred and the other secular, believing that if a man lived close to Christ, there was nothing which might not be turned into blessed work. (Cheers.)

The Revs. John Foster, G. W. M'Cree, John Morgan, and Benjamin Brown (Wesleyan) offered prayer, and some hymns were sung.

The Rev. N. HALL, in expressing thanks to Mr. Morley for presiding, said he felt most deeply that he had in him a true earnest friend, who was always ready to help with his purse and voice, and he was delighted to have him there at the first meeting.

The Rev. G. M. MURPHY said no one could take a deeper interest in that building than he did. Twenty years ago they had their first service at Hawtstone Hall, and they continued there until 1866. It seemed a fitting link between the old hall and the new that their chairman was present at the last service in the old hall, from whence he went to the Lambeth Baths to address a meeting of navvies. It was a long interregnum, but the work had not been standing still, as they transferred all their work to the Borough-road where it had gone on, and mainly through the generosity of men who had been won at Hawtstone Hall, nearly 1,700*l.* a year was spent in evangelising work in the neighbourhood of the Borough-road. There were people in all parts of the world who had been won to Christ at Hawtstone Hall. Now they had a new and more beautiful building it was to be hoped still more glorious work would be done there. He would say in the words of the Psalmist, "Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren's and companions' sakes I will now say, Peace be within thee."

The Rev. Newman Hall closed the meeting with prayer.

At the evening meeting the Earl of Shaftesbury presided, supported by the Revs. N. Hall, H. Grainger, and Messrs. W. Webb, D. Earl, Frederick, J. R. Glanville, Goodman, and James Joy. After singing and prayer, and reading of Scriptures by the Rev. N. Hall,

The CHAIRMAN addressed the meeting. The erection of that church and hall was calculated to meet the spiritual necessities of men, and he heartily prayed God that the work might prosper in the spirit in which it had been undertaken. They all knew the history of Surrey Chapel, and how the late Mr. Sherman and Mr. Newman Hall had been engaged in doing what they could to extend its benevolent operations to the whole mass of the working classes. It was a very great and noble undertaking, grounded on pure patriotism. They were engaged in a great patriotic movement, and were doing that which would improve the moral and spiritual condition of the people around them. When they considered the state of the country, and the power already held by the working classes, and the power they would acquire in the future, they must see that the kingdom and its institutions could only rest safely upon a wise and understanding people. It was the duty of every man who cared for the generation in which he lived and for future generations, to enter upon that work in the spirit in which it had been conceived. He believed there was a great deal of wisdom in seeing that the religion of Christ was something more than the calling of people to church once a week. Man was a composite animal, a man of spirit and a man of flesh, and the claims of each part of his nature must be taken care of. He was glad to see they took into consideration the amusement and recreation of the people who, if left to themselves, would take to all kinds of gross amusements, such as bull-baiting and cock-fighting. It was for them to wean the people from such things, and also from the enticements of the public-house. They could only do so by substituting one attraction for the other. They had there a lecture-room capable of containing 800 people, and a school-room for 500, and committee-rooms. All that would be very useful and successful. He hoped they would have some good music, such as Handel's and Mozart's, and he believed it would have a very great effect upon the people, and wean them from the public-house. Working men could come there and discuss their grievances, and he often found that when an Englishman had spoken his mind he felt satisfied. (Laughter.) He had no doubt but that if they could bring the working people and their employers together more it would prevent those disastrous strikes. Then they had religious and philanthropic societies, and he hoped it would be a centre of a great Christian agency spreading over a wide district. Nothing tended so much to keep people in harmony as frequent intercommunion, and the recent reception of the Queen in Whitechapel showed the improvement which had taken place in the lower classes. There were in London four millions of people brought together without any preparation for their moral and spiritual wants, and it was marvellous that they were so orderly with only about 11,000 police. It must be owing to the good done by those various agencies which had now been in operation for many years, and except for

which London would be now utterly uninhabitable. He rejoiced to see that hall affiliated to such a church and for such purposes, and that people who attended the ministry of Newman Hall would know they had a man at the head of a congregation who sympathised with them in all their necessities, and would do all they could to help them in their moral and spiritual life, and also provide for their honest recreation. Their great object was to win them from the public-house. After all the large wages earned during the last few years it was sad to think that probably not one-third of the population had laid up anything for an evil day, for themselves or their families. Seeing the great career they had before them he would only pray in the words of the baptismal service, that being steadfast in faith, joyful through hope, and rooted in charity, their future career might be in accordance with those principles and be a blessed one. (Cheers.)

After prayer by Mr. WEBB, the Rev. N. HALL made some announcements of further meetings, and said that only about 500*l.* was now needed to pay for that hall, the total cost of which would be about 9,000*l.* 2,500*l.* had been obtained from his lecture fund, and the remainder had been given by friends in recognition of the great philanthropic work carried on by their various societies. Although he had not asked for money that day, Lord Shaftesbury had generously given a donation of 10*l.* (Cheers.) Most of those present had been giving for fifteen years past. He had been engaged for some years in asking for funds, and had travelled many hundreds of miles and made many thousands of calls upon all manner of persons. It had not been always pleasant work, or in accordance with his personal feelings, but he had met with very great encouragements, especially from the poor. He had now ceased to be a mendicant, and retired from the profession. (Laughter.) He undertook to get 5,000*l.*, and he had succeeded, and it was a great relief to him. But it must not be supposed that they did not want money, as about 5,000*l.* would still be needed after the bazaar, to clear them entirely. But they had a building which would hold 2,500 people, most substantially built, and which might last for centuries. It was a grand proof of the power of the voluntary principle, and showed that when people saw that a good work was being done, they were ready to give their money. They closed at Surrey Chapel next Sunday week, when he would have completed his twenty-second year of service. The new church would be opened on Tuesday, July 4, and they intended to have a month's sacred feasting. The church would be open every day, and preachers of all denominations had kindly offered their services, and he did not see why they should not have as good congregations as Messrs. Moody and Sankey had. They had five years' more lease to run at Surrey Chapel. They might have received compensation if they had surrendered it, but they thought they ought to use the building for good, and had offered it to the Primitive Methodists, who were going to take it off their hands. Two of their ministers would occupy the pastorate, and if any of their friends preferred the old building, they might remain there, although they would be sorry to lose them. Instead of having one church migrating to another place, they would have two churches, and he hoped that at the end of the five years they would have a strong church there still. (Cheers.)

The hymn, "God bless our native land," was then sung, the Rev. Mr. Cecil prayed, and the Rev. NEWMAN HALL expressed his thankfulness that the hall was so well adapted for speaking in, and that the ventilation was good. Great credit was due to the architect for that. They thanked Lord Shaftesbury for being there that evening, especially as he had travelled from a distant part of the country to fulfil that engagement. Lord SHAFTESBURY, in responding, said it had given him great pleasure to be present. There was in London a vast amount of dormant and unused energy. People wanted to do good, but didn't know how. He would point them to Surrey Chapel, and they could come there and take their degrees. He wished they could say of London that it was built as a city that was at unity with itself. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Newman Hall then closed the meeting with prayer.

The Rev. A. B. CAMM, formerly minister of Tolmers-square Church, London, who left England to become pastor of the Protestant church, San José, Costa Rica, has received from his congregation a hearty and unanimous invitation to renew his three years' engagement. He has ultimately promised to remain in his present sphere until August, when he will return to England after having spent the coming winter on the continent. We understand that he hopes to recommence ministerial work in this country next spring.

DEATH OF THE REV. JOHN KELLY, OF LIVERPOOL.—We regret to record the decease of the Rev. John Kelly, who for forty-five years was actively engaged as a Congregational minister in Liverpool. He died on Monday morning. Of late Mr. Kelly's health had somewhat failed, and about three years ago he retired from the pulpit at the Crescent Chapel, Mr. Blackie being appointed his successor. Mr. Kelly, however, continued to preach occasional sermons and to take part in public proceedings; but a few weeks ago an affection of the heart, together with congestion of the lungs, prostrated him, and he never rallied. Mr. Kelly was widely known and highly esteemed, not only

in his own denomination, but far beyond its bounds.

BEERALSTON, DEVON.—A social gathering of the members and friends of the Congregational Church, Beeralston, Devon, took place on the 8th inst., when there was a large assembly. The proceedings possessed unusual interest, as the esteemed pastor, the Rev. William Hill, was to be presented with a substantial token of the esteem and affection in which he is held by his people, to whom he has ministered for twenty-two years. The chair was occupied by John Jackson, Esq., who said he had very great pleasure in begging Mr. Hill's acceptance of a cheque for 140*l*. The meeting was also addressed by several ministers from the neighbourhood.

LORD SANDON'S EDUCATION BILL.

CONFERENCE AT WESTMINSTER.

A Conference of the friends of religious equality, convened jointly by the committees of the Liberation Society and the Deputies of the Three Denominations, was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Monday afternoon, to express their views on the Government Education Bill, lately introduced by Lord Sandon. The meeting, though called at very short notice, and intended to be mainly a metropolitan gathering, was very well attended, and the various Nonconformist bodies were well represented. Besides that it was presided over by an influential Wesleyan layman, two other Methodist M.P.'s were present. As will be seen from the subjoined report, the Conference showed a very strong determination to oppose the Government bill with all possible vigour. Mr. Alderman McArthur, M.P., took the chair about two o'clock, and amongst those present were Sir Thomas Bazley, M.P., Mr. T. Rowley Hill, M.P., Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., M.P., Sir Henry Havelock, Bart., M.P., Mr. R. Davies, M.P., Mr. W. S. Allen, M.P., Alderman McArthur, M.P., Mr. Morgan Lloyd, M.P., Mr. Alexander McArthur, M.P., Mr. E. Jenkins, M.P., Mr. H. Richard, M.P., Mr. A. Illingworth, Dr. Underhill, Mr. H. R. Ellington, Mr. Charles Shephard, Mr. Carvell Williams, Mr. J. Allanson Picton, Mr. Chatfield Clarke, Rev. A. Murrell, Rev. J. H. Millard, Mr. J. Templeton, Mr. J. Glover, Mr. P. W. Clayden, Rev. B. Waugh, Rev. W. B. Lewis, Mr. H. Wright, Rev. Dr. Morrison, Rev. G. M. Murphy, Rev. Marmaduke Miller, Mr. J. S. Wright (of Birmingham), Mr. E. Grimwade (of Ipswich), Mr. Andrew Dunn, Mr. Rains, Mr. Travers Buxton, Mr. R. Sinclair, Mr. J. Clapham, Mr. C. J. Cross, Mr. Charles Miall, Rev. R. Roberts, Mr. Forsaith, Rev. R. Macbeth, Mr. G. C. Whiteley, Rev. C. Worboys, Rev. G. Reaney (of Reading), Mr. George Howell, Mr. Broadhurst, Rev. J. Dohie, Rev. S. Hebditch, Mr. S. R. Pattison, Rev. T. Lloyd (of St. Ives), Rev. C. Kirtland, Rev. W. H. Wylie, Mr. McLaren (of Keighley), the Rev. T. W. Davids, Mr. A. T. Bowser, the Rev. W. P. Cops, the Rev. G. B. Riley, the Rev. W. Miall, the Rev. M. Fish, the Rev. B. C. Etheridge, Mr. R. M. Holborn, &c.

Mr. J. Carvell Williams stated that letters regretting their inability to be present, and expressing sympathy with the object of the conference, had been received from Mr. Dixon, M.P., Mr. John Morley, the Rev. J. G. Rogers, the Rev. W. H. Crosskey, the Rev. Dr. Edmond, and others.

The CHAIRMAN said they were all aware of the object of the meeting. They were met to express their views on the Government Bill for Education brought in by Lord Sandon. It would not be necessary for him to occupy much of their time by giving any analysis of the measure, as the question would be brought before them by the several speakers who would address them. The bill was decidedly objectionable, inasmuch as it did not grapple with the question of compulsory education of the country. (Applause.) In his opinion, no measures taken to enforce the bill would accomplish the object of compulsory education—(applause)—and the scheme of indirect compulsion would not answer the end. He believed that the principles of the bill, instead of answering the purposes intended, would leave thousands of children uneducated, to grow up in idleness. The measure would fail in the first place because it did not secure compulsory education for the country. In the next place the bill would interfere with the rights of conscience. A great many Nonconformists throughout the country would be obliged to send their children to denominational schools. There would be no alternative, because although there was a conscience clause it would be inoperative, and would not answer the purpose for which it was framed. The bill was in opposition to the pledge given by Mr. Gladstone when the question of education was first introduced by Mr. Forster. The new bill proposed to provide machinery which would altogether prevent school boards being created in country districts. It would hand over the power to town councils and boards of guardians, and, as one of the resolutions to be

proposed stated, it associated education with crime and pauperism. It would have the effect of fostering schools directly sectarian. On these grounds the bill was objectionable. It gave no satisfaction to any party; all parties found fault with the bill. Canon Girdlestone told them that it would be quite inoperative so far as the rural districts were concerned. He thought that it was exceedingly undesirable that the proposed duty should be imposed upon town councils or boards of guardians. Almost all associations of those interested in education had condemned the bill. The Congregational Union had distinctly objected to the bill. The Wesleyan Education Committee objected to it, on the ground that it interfered with the establishment of School Boards throughout the country—that was one of their grounds; and he believed that the Education Committee represented the views of the connexion in the matter. At a recent meeting on the subject it was laid down as a desirable principle that the whole country should be divided into districts with a board school within a radius of three miles, for every child. (Applause.) He had no need further to trespass upon their time except just to express his own conviction that the bill if passed into law would not meet the requirements of the country, and was objectionable in many of its clauses. (Applause.)

Mr. J. ALLANSON PICTON, M.A. (of the London School Board), on being called upon by the chairman, made the following statement, being an analysis of Lord Sandon's Bill:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, this is a bill, in dealing with which we must be extremely careful not to be deceived by appearances oftentimes false as fair. When this bill was first introduced, and to a certain extent explained by Lord Sandon himself, it seemed likely to disappoint both opponents and supporters—the opponents because it did not appear to furnish a handle which they could easily lay hold of in order to raise a passionate opposition; and the supporters, because to them it appeared to fall far short of that which had been promised to the clergy at the last election. The bill did not promise any distinct or open measure of reaction; at least it did not do so apparently; it did not make any attempt to repeal the Elementary Education Act of 1870, except in regard to a particular rule in the schedule, which, however, everyone was glad to see altered. It did not seem to relax the principle of compulsion; but it added a new feature to the old measure, and that was the principle of indirect compulsion, which many liberal people of all schools had desired at least to see tried. On the other hand, the clergy complained that the bill did not provide them with the means by which they could exorcise the demon of school boards where it had taken possession of any neighbourhood. It did not allow them to pay their rates to their own sectarian schools, as Canon Gregory wished to do. In fact, it did not do for them what they had insisted upon. But, upon closer examination, it was found that the bill did more than ever they had supposed it would do. If it does not take the advice of the clergy, it is only because its promoters know a trick worth two or half-a-dozen of that. It does the business of the clergy even better than they would do it for themselves. The principle of indirect compulsion, which is put in the very forefront of the bill, is only a feint to draw off attention from that point, and to concentrate discussion upon itself, while the whole legislative machinery of the measure is devoted to diverting the current of educational progress, which has now flowed on so nobly for five or six years, in favour of the Established Church. As the *School Board Chronicle* of Saturday last well said, it is simply a bill to establish and perpetuate the denominational system in the country. It does this in two ways—first, by detaching the principle of compulsion from any guarantee whatever for the rights of conscience. Although there has been too much of this tendency under the existing Education Act, yet it has never been done so openly, so ostentatiously, and so barefacedly as in this new bill. (Hear, hear.) It also endeavours to favour the Established Church by a tentative step towards making denominational schools independent altogether of voluntary subscriptions. I will just glance at the different clauses of the bill which operate in these two ways. First as to detaching the principle of compulsion from any sufficient guarantee for the rights of conscience. The bill introduces in its very forefront (Section 4) the principle of indirect compulsion—that is to say, "A person shall not after the commencement of this Act (January 1st, 1877), take into his employment (except as hereinafter in this Act mentioned) any child (1) who is under the age of ten years; or (2) who, being of the age of ten years or upwards has not obtained such certificate of his proficiency in reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic, or of previous due attendance at a public elementary school, as in this Act in that behalf mentioned." Therefore, no child shall get employment at all under the age of fourteen years

unless he obtains certain certificates. Of course the nation has a right to say this if it chooses; but if the nation does choose to say this it ought in justice to provide for all sections of the population some undenominational means of instruction. (Applause.) It has no right to say to the millions of agricultural labourers throughout the country—a large number of whom differ very much indeed from the Established Church—(Hear, hear)—"Your children shall not be employed unless they are certified to possess a certain amount of elementary instruction, and we will not provide in any way for the instruction, except through the sectarian channel of the parish schools." (Applause.) I think this is dealing very unfairly with the rights of conscience. And again you will find that, apart from any requisition whatever, a certain power of direct compulsion is conferred upon the local authorities; that direct compulsion is conferred apart from any bye-laws as described in the seventh and eighth sections of the bill. This authority is to be in the hands of the guardians in rural parishes, or of the town council of the borough. Of course, this refers only to children under ten years of age. In order to apply direct compulsion to those over that age there must be bye-laws passed either by the town council or by the board of guardians, on the request of the ratepayers. With regard to children under ten years of age, they have a power of direct compulsion without making any bye-laws. But these bodies are not the proper people to possess such a power—certainly the boards of guardians are not, as they are elected for totally different purposes. (Hear, hear.) In country districts how would it work? There is one gentleman who is supposed to carry the light of civilisation with him wherever he is placed. In consideration of his usefulness in this respect he is allowed to centre a very large number of offices in his own person. He is rector of the parish, which gives him very great authority; and he is the guardian; and he may be, and probably is, the magistrate as well—rector, guardian, and magistrate. He, with his brother guardians, is allowed to form a committee, of which he himself may be the chairman, and, in fact, the whole committee, although others must be joined with him. According to section 24, permission is given to appoint a committee, of which he may be one, his two curates may be the other members, or his curate and his wife only. As there are only three members required in one of the schedules of the bill, there is nothing whatever to prevent such a family arrangement as this. (Hear, hear.) There is just one school to which the children of the district may be sent, and that school in all probability is of an intensely sectarian character. It is true there is the conscience clause, but that clause does not determine the feelings or the prejudices of the schoolmaster or the committee, nor does it set any limits to the kind of religious instruction which may be given during the first hour of the school being open. And when you see the little catechisms which are extensively employed—I mean those of Mr. Gace and Mr. Hard, both of which inculcate the most unchristian feelings against all who differ from the principles of the Established Church—we must feel that the conscience clause in a school in which such a catechism is used is but a dead letter. Besides that, we know that alights are put upon children who do not receive full religious instruction—(Hear, hear)—and that kind of petty tyranny so devised to secure that the religious instruction shall embrace all children, and then we are told that there is no religious difficulty at all. Now, imagine the position of a labourer in such a village who has conscientious religious convictions of his own—such a man as Joseph Arch, for instance, but perhaps without Joseph Arch's unusual capacities and powers of resistance. He thinks the instruction given in the school is so intensely sectarian and objectionable that he would rather try in his over hours in the evening to teach his children the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic himself. The curate notices that the child does not attend the Church-school, and calls upon the father and informs him that they have the power of compelling him to send his child to school. If the father is still disobedient he may be summoned in accordance with Clause 7 of the bill before a court of summary jurisdiction. And what is it? Why, the clergyman of the parish. Of course the poor man is condemned to send his child to this school, and if he still refuses, then section 8 may be brought into operation, and that will act with the utmost cruelty. For the court of summary jurisdiction, which is the clergyman, may order that this child—probably not much over five years of age—may be taken from its father and sent to a certified industrial school—it may be until the boy is fifteen or sixteen years of age. It is all very well to say that no one would work the Act in such a way; but it is far better that we should not entrust them with the power of so doing. (Applause.) The adoption of the bye-laws by section 6 would only extend the same operation to children between ten and fourteen years of age. Now I have colleagues with me belonging to the school board, and we remember the most exaggerated language being used by the clergy as to the necessity of always giving choice of schools if you insist upon compulsory attendance. Over and over again it has been said, "If you pursue this school board policy you will do away with denominational schools, and if you do away with them how dare you enforce compulsory attendance without affording the parent the alternative with regard to religious instruction, which would be worse tyranny

than any that now exists in Turkey or anywhere else?" and yet it is the very thing which the clerical party is now trying to do. (Cheers.) It makes all the difference in the world when the single school happens to be of their sect and colour. That is one way in which the Act is seeking to do the work of the clergy—detaching the principle of compulsion from any sufficient guarantee of the rights of conscience. (Applause.) The second way in which it does the work of the Established Church is in the considerably large subsidies it promises to denominational schools. Section 12 of the Act provides that in any district where there is no district school board, any parent who cannot pay his fees and proves it, the fees will be paid out of the rates. This extends the 25th Clause of the Elementary Education Act to the whole country. We were deeply dissatisfied as it was, and it is now to operate without the election of a school board. Well, we all know how very poor agricultural labourers still are. How many of them are there who have to bring up families on not more than 13s. or 15s. a week. What do they do at present but have their children from school as much as they can. What will they do then? They will apply for so many threepences to pay the school fees, and the guardian, who is the clergyman and magistrate at once, will not be so very sensitive on the subject of rates, as we often find clergymen are when the rates are paid to the school board. The truth is that this will be found to tend towards another rate in aid of wages. (Hear, hear.) The poor labourers will get into the habit of looking to the boards of guardians instead of to their employers for sufficient money to pay their school fees. But section 13 needs a closer attention. It provides that in all school districts whatever or in special parts of school districts where a rate of 3d. in the pound does not produce 6s. per head of one sixth of the population, or 1s. per head of the whole population, men, women, and children, the limit imposed upon the grant to efficient schools shall be twice the income of the schools from all sources, and not the amount of the income as at present. Observe how this clause will operate. It only comes into operation at all where the average rental for every man, woman, and child in the district is £4. Where is that likely to be the case? Not in any of the country districts but in the crowded town districts. Thus we find it will come into operation in London—in Shoreditch, in Bethnal Green, in Mile End-road, in St. George's in the East, and in Woolwich, and in none of these places will 3d. in the £1 produce 1s. per head of the whole population. It will very rarely come into operation in the country, except in some parts of Wales. Is it not marvellous that it is just where the school boards are strongest and doing their best work that these clauses come into operation, and therefore denominationalism is to be strengthened against them. (Hear, hear.) The fact is this, that the schools will be made entirely independent of any voluntary subscriptions whatever; and what a miserable satire it would be to go on calling them voluntary institutions! (Applause.) The measure is a distinctly reactionary one, and when we see that the results of the Elementary Education Act of 1870 have been that 12,500,000 children are in round numbers at school, the average attendance increased by half-a-million throughout the country, the rapid improvement in the standard of education in all schools alike, we may well ask with some indignation why this marvellous progress should be arrested, and a diversion made in favour of principles and influences which have done nothing but hinder and impede and degrade public education throughout the past century. (Applause.) The bill has been condemned by the Education League, the Dissenting Deputies, the Wesleyans, the British and Foreign Unitarian Association; it is condemned with faint praise by the clergy themselves. It is already late in the session, and I do believe that if a strong opposition is well and skillfully carried out the bill may be yet thrown over; and by another year there will be a healthier public opinion with regard to the matter. (Loud applause.)

Sr H. HAVELOCK, M.P., moved the first resolution:—

That, as the Elementary Education Act of 1870 has resulted in a large increase of educational machinery, greater efficiency, and a quickening of public interest in popular education, the conference considers that any supplementary measure should aim at perfecting and extending the operation of that Act. The conference is of opinion that the bill introduced by Her Majesty's Government will have a directly contrary tendency, inasmuch as it devolves educational duties on public bodies appointed for other than educational purposes, associates education with crime and pauperism, and by still further subsidising sectarian schools managed by irresponsible persons, will check the formation of school boards and the multiplication of schools under public management.

He said that he had considered what the measure was likely to be before its details were published, but he was no more satisfied with the details than he had been with the anticipation of the scheme. He did not think that anything that had been said about it was too strong; on the contrary, the more he saw of it the less he liked it. He thought it a healthy sign that dissatisfaction with the provisions of the measure was growing daily and hourly. He had just returned from meeting his constituents at Sunderland, and nothing was received with stronger bursts of applause than his deprecation and condemnation of the bill. (Hear, hear.) Attention in that borough, at all events, was thoroughly aroused to the question, and they at all events there would

realise the saying that it was no use to "set a snare in the sight of any bird." (Laughter.) Such a meeting as this would earn the thanks of all friends of religious equality. He hoped the resistance to the measure would go on increasing in intensity, and that when they next met they would be able to congratulate themselves that the bill had been withdrawn. He hoped that those who had not already studied the bill would do so, and make themselves acquainted with its real reactionary tendency. In saying that he did not attribute any such intention to Lord Sandon, the ostensible author of the bill, who, his lordship would forgive him for saying, had been put in the foreground, though he was merely a puppet in this matter, in the hands of other people who were stronger and of greater determination, and who had prepared this Church torpedo and put it into his hands. (Hear, hear.) A torpedo was an engine of war, which, if they ran against it, was likely to do them a great deal of harm; but as in the navy they usually sent out a boat to fish up the torpedo and render it harmless, so he hoped this meeting would act the part of the small boat, and fish up this torpedo and put it into calm waters and let it remain there, so that it should do harm to nobody. (Applause.) Although the country had been asking for more compulsion, which the Government had refused to give in a direction where it would be useful, the singular feature of this bill was that it proposed to apply compulsion in a direction where it would be entirely harmful. This was an inconsistency on the face of the bill. Some people imagined that the principle of the bill, so far as it contained a principle, was that of compulsion; but it was nothing of the sort—it was neither direct nor indirect compulsion, but compulsion of a certain sort applied over a certain area only, and having an unfair sectarian tendency which he hoped the country would resist. Of course it was said they need be under no apprehension, because there would be the protection of the conscience clause; but Nonconformists had learned to set a value of their own on the conscience clause. (Hear, hear.) Worked in connection with the catechisms to which Mr. Picton had referred, they knew what effect the conscience clause was likely to have; and they had also heard of the tea-and-cake dodge. (Laughter and "Hear, hear.") The second great fault of the bill, as Mr. Picton had said, was that not only was the rector the guardian and magistrate, but also the court of summary jurisdiction—judge, jury, and witness all in one. He should like to know what chance the children would have in such a case. If this bill was passed they might say "Good-bye" to religious equality for fifty years to come. (Hear, hear.) This, in fact, was one of the most insidious measures in an innocent guise that had ever been introduced. Only within the last few days, however, had the people woken up to the fact. It might be said that it had met with a certain amount of "faint praise" in the first instance, but now there was no set of men who were pleased with it. It had been condemned even by its own friends—the clergy—because it did not meet all their expectations. The meeting was deeply indebted to Mr. Picton for the analysis he had given of the bill. He (Sir Henry) had never before felt, though he had studied the bill for three weeks, how injurious it would, or might, be. He trusted Mr. Picton's statement would be printed and published throughout the country, in conjunction with the reports of this meeting, and then he had no fear of the result. (Hear, hear.) They were called on now to take their stand for a principle which was dearer to Englishmen than any other, viz., religious equality. In the present reactionary state of things they had a majority against them; but the fact remained that during the past three years the reactionary party had never been able to carry, against the strong public opinion opposed to them, any one measure really reactionary. (Hear, hear.) He hoped the same would be the result in this case. Let them be up and doing; let them defend their principles with activity and energy and endurance; and if they could not defeat the measure altogether, still they would arouse such a spirit in the country as would render the Act nugatory and inoperative, and perhaps something more. But he hoped that they would be so able to arouse public indignation that very shortly this bill would be included in the "slaughter of the innocents," and perhaps the Minister at the head of the Government would get up and say that "This bill is a matter of no importance, I have not even read the bill." (Laughter.) He thought they need not trouble this meeting with details, but might safely leave them to the committee, who had fought their battles so well on former occasions. (Cheers.)

The Rev. B. WAUGH, of Greenwich (of the London School Board), seconded the resolution. He said he wished Mr. Picton could have made his statement in the House of Commons as well as at this meeting. (Hear, hear.) The measure had not for a long time been understood by the public. When anyone made a statement which could not be quite understood, he was inclined to ask, not so much what the statement was, but who were the persons that made it. The disposition of the Education Department had for a long time been to hand the London School Board over to the clergy of London, and only recently the department had put into writing a document which threw great light on this bill. The London School Board had been told that unless in the transfer of national schools they accepted the clergy of the district as co-managers of the schools,

and gave to the clergy and trustees a veto on all future expenditure on account of the school buildings, the department would not allow the rates to be burdened for providing a new school in the place of a suitable one, which the board had it in their power, but declined to acquire, without cost. This showed the disposition of the department. (Hear, hear.) Then the bill proposed to associate education with crime and pauperism. It did so in this way, because the measure was well calculated to increase pauperism and to increase criminal habits among the juvenile population of the rural districts. After this measure should come into force, no child over ten could be allowed to work unless he had an educational certificate. Therefore if they prohibited a child's employment after ten years of age, unless the child was educated, they were bound either absolutely to require education under ten, or to expect a great increase in idleness amongst the juvenile rural population, and in all the serious evils of which idleness was the acknowledged and prolific cause. Where there was no compulsion the evil would be great. Had it not been for compulsion in London there would now be 80,000 such children living in compulsory idleness, augmenting the pauper and criminal classes, and increasing the rates. (Hear, hear.)

Sir C. DILKE, Bart., M.P., in supporting the resolution, said, when this bill was first introduced Lord Sandon made a speech so conciliatory in its tone, that it was a long time before the real character of the measure was discovered. Even a few days after the bill was printed and circulated it was very favourably received, even by the Liberal press. A large number of persons who examined it in this way believed that, though it would do little good, it would do no harm, and the *Daily News* went so far as to say it was a measure that could very easily be made harmless; and the first Nonconformist resolution went only so far as to say that although the bill required to be amended it "contained the following important principles." In fact, there was no note of hostility sounded to the bill for a considerable time. Now the great value of the meeting to-day had been in the speech of Mr. Picton. That speech had placed the matter clearly before the meeting, and he hoped it would be placed before the country that those who had more carefully studied the bill were rapidly coming to the conclusion that no more reactionary bill had been presented to the present Parliament. (Hear, hear.) After Mr. Picton's speech it would be idle to attempt any detailed examination of the principles of the bill, and he should not have risen at all had he not a special purpose in directing the attention of the meeting to the practical question of what was to be done with this bill in Parliament. There stood on the paper an amendment on the second reading in the name of Mr. Mundella, which pointed to the defects of the bill from an educational point of view; and the question therefore to be considered now was whether there should be a debate and a division upon the amendment of Mr. Mundella, in which the views of this meeting might be put forward, together with the views of the bulk of the Liberal party, or whether on the motion for the second reading of the bill there should be a distinctly hostile vote against it even if it were intended to propose an amendment afterwards on the motion for going into committee. His own opinion was that a decided vote should be given against the second reading—(Hear, hear)—and if Mr. Mundella's resolution should be defeated he had a strong opinion, which he shared with some others, that even if the Liberty party reserved its action for a future occasion they should not allow the second reading to go by without voting a direct negative. (Cheers.)

The Rev. J. H. MILLARD, secretary of the Baptist Union, stated that that Union had passed a series of resolutions condemning this bill after very carefully investigating its various clauses. The bill appeared unsound in every part, and if it was bad for the large towns it was very much worse for the villages and small towns. From his experience in the latter places he could testify to the evils arising from the denominational aspect of the educational code already in operation, and the influence of this bill would be to stave off indefinitely the creation of school boards in the smaller towns and villages, leaving the clerical party still more firmly established. (Hear, hear.) For these reasons they ought to set their faces against this bill as they did against the measure proposed by Sir James Graham, which he could just remember, when the Dissenting spirit of the country was stirred up in opposition to an insidious measure then proposed by that minister. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. SWEET, of Romford, pointed to a defect in the bill. Under the 6th and 20th sections of the bill power was given to the boards of guardians to enforce compulsion only upon the requisition of fifty ratepayers; and it struck him that this would be entirely inoperative in parishes where both farmers and labourers were opposed to compulsory education. The Act in this respect would be simply a dead letter, as was the Agricultural Children's Act, which it was proposed to repeal by this measure. The proposal also to double the grant to a large number of schools would result in those schools, though supported by rates and taxes and fees only, being under an irresponsible management, and they would be carried on without any control whatever from the public.

Mr. T. R. HILL, M.P., said in considering this bill they must recollect the party from which it emanated. It was quite as favourable as could be expected, seeing the antecedents of the persons who

were its promoters. That party had systematically opposed all efforts for the compulsory establishment of school boards; but the establishment of school boards would not meet this particular case in country districts, because if the boards of guardians had the control of the matter, the school boards would just reflect the boards of guardians. And the two or three Dissenters of the parish, chiefly poor men, would have no voice in the school board. But supposing the school boards to be established where denominationalism was in full action, they could hardly expect that the boards would go to the expense of building new schools for a few Dissenting children. It appeared, therefore, to him that the course to be adopted by Nonconformists would be to go for another principle besides school boards—namely, that in all schools receiving Government or national assistance the school buildings should become national property on fair and equitable terms, so that the whole of the schools in the country should be really undenominational schools, because it was in vain to expect to have additional school buildings for a very few Dissenting children. (Cheers.) He did not suppose that the present Government would propose such a measure, but they must wait patiently till they could realise it; and he believed their wisest course now would be to offer organised resistance to any and every Government measure on the subject, which was sure to be reactionary. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. GEORGE HOWELL said he thought that all who were desirous of national unsectarian school education should do all in their power by opposing the passing of a measure of general compulsion except upon a purely secular platform. It was no use beating about the bush, but they must take their stand on the broad principle here, and say it was necessary the children should receive such an education, and that school boards should be extended all over the country; that it was necessary also to have compulsion; but that the only system of education taught in the national board schools should be a purely secular system. (Hear, hear.)

After some observations by Mr. HOLBORN, Mr. BARRY, and Mr. W. T. REEVE, the resolution was passed unanimously.

Mr. JOHN GLOVER proposed the second resolution, which was as follows:—

That a resort to compulsion should be combined with a regard for individual rights as well as for the public interests; but that in contravention of the principles adopted in recent legislation the bill will, in a large number of parishes, particularly in the rural districts, have the effect of compelling Nonconformist parents to send their children to schools belonging to the Church of England. The exercise of this power will also be rendered more dangerous by the delegation of their authority by town councils and boards of guardians, to other and irresponsible persons by whom, in many cases, it will be used for the furtherance of sectarian objects.

He asked what could have been expected from the present Government but such a bill? He remembered there were great complaints against the Liberal Government for their bill of 1870 because it was not more Radical in its provisions; and it was now most refreshing to see some gentlemen showing quite a new-born enthusiasm about that bill he had never seen before. In 1870 their party got into a state of great confusion on the subject, and having complained of their leaders on that occasion they contributed to put their enemies in power. Having been chastised with whips by their friends, they were now threatened with scorpions by their adversaries. But the important point was to seriously look the actual difficulties in the face. What could they do in Parliament? They were all desirous of preventing anything being done in opposition to the Act of 1870. He believed they could not prevent Lord Sandon's bill passing, or get it remitted to the dog-days and forgotten. It was far more likely to get passed quietly between one and two o'clock some morning. Was it possible to minimise the evil which this bill threatened? It seemed to him that the proposal which had emanated from a modest body of gentlemen contained a good deal of good sense. That proposal was that they should try and prevail with Mr. Disraeli either to withdraw the bill or essentially to modify it; and in case neither of these objects could be attained, then to ask the Government so to amend the present bill as to give town councils and boards of guardians power to provide and maintain out of the local rate within every school district one or more public elementary schools which should be subject to the same regulations as schools provided by school boards; and, secondly, to enact that in the event of power being given to town councils and boards of guardians to accept the transfer of any school, any religious instruction given in such transferred schools should be only such as the Act of 1870 permits to be given in schools which have been provided by school boards. It seemed to him that would be some amelioration of the mischief likely to arise from Lord Sandon's Bill. At the same time, he could hardly share the terms of deprecation which had been used with regard to this bill. He remembered the time when the preamble of the bill would have gladdened the heart of his friend Mr. Richard, and if the body they represented agreed with that preamble he should not much disapprove of it. It was mournful, however, to think that the education question should be applied with a view to pay off election debts. He abhorred such a proceeding, and he thought it scandalous of their public men. If what was now occurring should lead Nonconformists in the future to treat the great Liberal party with a

little more liberality, and not to be quite so exacting of their leaders when they came back again to power, he did not think that the occasion would have been thrown away.

Mr. ALFRED ILLINGWORTH said his views perhaps were not entirely in harmony with those expressed by Mr. Glover. (Laughter.) The subject they had to deal with was large and urgent enough without undertaking a diagnosis of the condition of the Liberal party, and it would require a whole evening if he were to attempt to rebut the charges made against them in reference to the bill of 1870. (Hear, hear.) It was sufficient to say that he for one did not regret that action, and that he still held it to be necessary to proclaim their true feelings and opinions on this great question, whatever party was in power. (Hear, hear.) He was somewhat surprised that advice should have been given to them of so contradictory a character. They were told that they must be humble and not too expectant, that they must remember how weak they were, and how little they could accomplish in the House of Commons, whilst at the same time it was actually proposed that they should endeavour to transform, in the interests of Nonconformists and of national education, a measure now before the House of Commons which was palpably constructed to subvert the interests of the Church, in Parliament and out of it. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) Now he was very much more moderate in his views, for he believed it would be impossible to check the progress of this bill by legitimate obstruction. Their salvation he believed would lay in the courage and persistency of the men whom they could depend upon in the House, especially their chief from Wales, Mr. Richard. (Hear, hear.) He thought they could do nothing whatever to modify the measure in any degree that might make it worth the acceptance of Liberal educationists throughout the country. He did not believe that Lord Sandon was in the hands of mere astute wire-pullers. Lord Sandon was undoubtedly an honest man, but it was his misfortune to believe that national education meant the privileges of the Church, and it was just that trifling mistake that created all the difficulty. (Laughter.) He would remind the conference that although the Prime Minister had a majority of 100, yet by the opposition raised on the Endowed Schools Act that measure was eventually withdrawn, and he believed that with equal resoluteness and persistency that course might now be repeated. They need not, in this case, be anxious as to the fate of this bill, because if it were lost the education of the country would in no sense suffer. What was the necessity for any amendment of the Act of 1870? Palpably it was that compulsion must be brought to bear in the country districts where at present there were no school boards. Now he for one would venture to say that they had escaped one danger even in the nomination of boards of guardians as the machinery for compulsion; for they must not forget that boards of guardians were representative bodies, and were infinitely better for the purpose than if the power of compulsion had been given, as they feared it might have been given, to the magistrates. It had been well said that the preamble of the bill should have been, "How not to do it," and that it might have run, "Whereas it is desirable for the nation to abandon its rights and make over to an already highly-privileged sect the management of national funds and the educational authority"—(laughter)—and then the clauses of the bill might have followed. That bill proposed to hand over the parish schools to a totally irresponsible body of clerical managers. What was the pretext for this? It had been said in the past that they should not obliterate the so-called voluntary schools because they saved the rates and taxes, but it was now proposed so as to arrange the financial part of elementary education that in reality sectarians will have the management of these national schools. Against that they protested. They would never consent to vest the authority which should be exercised by representative and responsible bodies in those over whom the ratepayers had no control whatever. (Hear, hear.) Why should the poorer classes be subjected to the control and compulsion exercised by the managers of these so-called voluntary schools, but which would be more accurately termed sectarian schools? He quite agreed that it was undesirable to raise the cry of church against chapel, but they should take broad grounds upon which he thought they might successfully resist the measure. (Hear, hear.) He thought the suggestion made by Mr. Hill was the course they ought to aim at, so far as the country districts were concerned; for he was not sanguine enough to suppose that the excellent proposal of the Wesleyan body for board schools would be accepted by 7,000 or 8,000 parishes. It was not at all clear that any of these parishes would consent to an alternative national school being built, and the expense alone would be fatal to such a proposition. What then ought they to aim at? He thought Mr. Hill had hit the very thing. These so-called voluntary schools were in a great measure national schools, and had been erected partly out of national funds. That being so they must assert a claim for these schools being handed over during the necessary school hours and placed under the management of boards of guardians, if those bodies were chosen as the school authority, and when they had secured this they would have secured a reasonable means for obtaining a national system of education. (Hear, hear.) With regard to another point, it was a monstrously objectionable feature of the bill to hand over to

three individuals, as a committee, the entire management of the schools throughout thousands of parishes in this country. (Hear, hear.) He believed that that argument alone would be sufficiently powerful to arrest this measure. There was no time to be lost, and he hoped the result of that conference would be that they would have town meetings in all the large centres, and some immediate action taken. He hoped also there would be no division in the Liberal ranks. (Hear, hear.) He would venture to make an appeal to Mr. Forster, who insisted strongly with regard to freedom of choice, that it would be unfair that compulsion should be exercised unless there were a choice of schools. He would put it to Mr. Forster that in 6,000 or 7,000 parishes at least there would be no choice, and that compulsion would be used to drive the children of Nonconformists on the one hand, and of those who, on the other hand, did not want any religious interference whatever, into the denominational schools. (Hear, hear.) The results would be felt with special severity in Wales, Cornwall, and many parts of Yorkshire, where the working of the measure would undoubtedly be tyrannical and grossly unjust. (Applause.)

Mr. BROADHURST, of the Labour Representation League, supported the resolution, and announced that a conference of Working Men's Clubs was about to be held to protest against the measure. The resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Mr. E. JENKINS, M.P., moved the next resolution as follows:—

That this conference does not find in the bill any principles or provisions the practical value of which should induce the friends of a national system of education to waive such objections as those now stated; but regarding the bill as being altogether an inadequate measure, it is of opinion that unless such objections are met, the bill ought not to become law.

He said that whatever might be their opinions as to special details of the measure, there were certain salient points upon which he thought they could hope to unite the Liberal party, and although they might fail in their opposition, still a discussion of those points would have a powerful effect upon the country—a circumstance the importance of which should be overlooked neither by statesmen nor gentlemen who were in the habit of agitating. The three points were these. In the first place they should distinctly oppose the idea of indirect compulsion as one which it was impossible practically to carry out. (Hear, hear.) In the luminous address of Mr. Pictou nothing was clearer than that. In the second place, they ought to oppose, apart from education and this controversy, the idea of handing over education to provincial or municipal authorities. And the third point, which struck him the most strongly of all, was, that the measure was not concurrent with, and was not in harmony with, the existing system as developed from the Act of 1870. He was astonished at the remarks of Mr. Glover, because one of the bases of the settlement of 1870 was that it looked forward to the time when the whole elementary education of the country could be brought under the control of the Government and the voluntary system abolished. This measure proposed to run directly contrary to that principle. He thought there could be no difficulty whatever in uniting the Liberal party in opposition to the bill—(Hear, hear)—and he trusted that the same spirit which this meeting had evinced would be shown at all the meetings of the Liberal constituencies, so that if they were beaten in the House by a mechanical majority they would still have the moral victory. (Cheers.)

Mr. GRIMWADE, of Ipswich, seconded the resolution.

Mr. RICHARD, M.P., being called upon, said he had been travelling all day and did not intend to make a speech, but only to show his colours. He might, however, say that his predominant feeling with regard to this measure was one of bitter regret and indignation that they should be called upon again to fight this battle—called upon because of the persistent efforts of so-called statesmen to convert the sacred cause of national education into an instrument of sectarian aggrandisement. (Hear, hear.) The source of the mischief was always the same, and it was surely a miserable and melancholy thought that a Church which professed to represent to this nation a religion of peace and charity and brotherly love should always be the very first to fling the element of discord into their national life. (Hear, hear.) He was a man of peace by temper as well as by profession, and it was no pleasure to him, but on the contrary, it was inexpressibly painful and irksome to have to put himself in a position of antagonism to those with whom it would have been a pleasure and a delight to unite in promoting national education on broad and generous principles. (Hear, hear.) He had hoped that Lord Sandon's measure would have been such that they would have been absolved from the necessity of offering to it any serious opposition. He listened to his lordship's speech with the spirit of an optimist, and was somewhat relieved and elated at the first blush, as the measure did not appear to him so bad as he had feared it would be. But he had learned from experience that it was seldom safe to form, and still less safe to pronounce a judgment upon any measure brought forward by Government upon merely hearing the speech of the Minister who introduced it. He was quite sure Lord Sandon was not guilty of any intentional suppression, but it was the natural wish of a Minister to put the best aspect he could upon

a bill which he brought forward. The fact, nevertheless, was that the bill was a great deal worse than the speech, and that the more they examined it the more they saw that its whole tendency, whatever might be its intention, was to consign the education of the people of England more and more into clerical and priestly hands. (Hear, hear.) Against that they were bound to protest. It was altogether marvellous to him that the Liberal party of this country did not see that this was a matter that did not concern Nonconformists merely, but concerned the whole future Liberal interest of the country. (Hear, hear.) If they allowed the education of the people to fall into clerical hands, the very basis of their Liberal policy would be undermined. (Cheers.) It had been so in France, in Austria, in Portugal, in Holland, and even in Spain before the late changes and the civil war. They must resist this with all their power, come what may, and so keep their conscience clear in the matter. (Hear, hear.) He had not had the advantage of hearing all the proceedings of the conference, but he thought that Mr. Glover had endeavoured to mitigate their enthusiasm, supposing perhaps that the meeting had been getting somewhat too fanatical. (Laughter.) But they would remember that in the Church of Rome if a saint was about to be canonised there was a certain person called "the Devil's advocate," whose business it was to lower the enthusiasm of those who desired to canonise the saint, and perhaps their friend Mr. Glover had rendered the same sort of service in this matter. (Laughter.) Mr. Glover said they were to proceed upon the lines of the bill of 1870, but he (Mr. Richard) did not admit that. Whatever might have been the bill of 1870, the one now before them was a bill to which they were bound as Dissenters to offer their most strenuous opposition—(Hear, hear)—and he did not at all despair, seeing the success with which they opposed Sir James Graham's bill, when they had not a party of any account in the House of Commons, and no one on their side of any note but John Bright. Remembering also what they did with Lord Sandon's bill on the endowed schools last year, he did not at all despair that if the Dissenters of England took the matter up as they had done on previous occasions that even now it was not too late to check the progress of the measure. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr. CHATFIELD CLARKE, seconded by the Rev. Dr. MORRISON, a petition to Parliament embodying the resolution was adopted, and on the motion of Mr. CHARLES SHEPHEARD, seconded by Mr. H. R. ELLINGTON, a vote of thanks to the chairman terminated the proceedings.

RESOLUTIONS OF PUBLIC BODIES.

The General Purposes Committee of the Congregational Union have resolved that Lord Sandon's bill is open to serious objections, on the following grounds:—1. It will bring powers of compulsion into operation in districts where there exist only sectarian schools, and will, in the rural parishes, practically place those powers in the hands of the clergy of the Established Church, who will use them to promote the interests of that institution. 2. It will unduly relieve the managers and ostensible supporters of denominational schools from the cost of their maintenance, both by increasing the amount received from the Parliamentary grant and by the payment of school fees out of the poor-rates; and it will thereby prolong the existence of inefficient schools. 3. The permission to town councils and boards of guardians to delegate their powers to committees outside their own bodies will probably lead to compulsion being exercised, not by any public authority, but by the managers of denominational schools. 4. It affords no additional facilities for the appointment of school boards, and makes no provision for the establishment of additional schools, even by the bodies to whom it gives compulsory powers; and it thereby entrusts the extension of education to those who are actuated by sectarian rather than by educational zeal. For these reasons the committee recommend that the friends of a national as opposed to a denominational system of education should endeavour to prevent the bill from becoming law, unless it can be so modified as to meet these objections.

At a meeting of the committee of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland—the Rev. Dr. Landels, the chairman of the Union, presiding—the following resolution was adopted:—"That the Elementary Education Bill now before Parliament is, in the judgment of this committee, eminently unsatisfactory—(1) Because it proposes to extend the unsound principle of giving pecuniary aid where no efficient control can be exercised; (2) because it authorises boards of guardians and town councils to appoint as managers of district schools, and to invest with compulsory power, persons who will be wholly irresponsible to the ratepayers; (3) because it will degrade respectable parents by compelling them to apply to the guardians of the poor for the purpose of educating their children."

At the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, held on Wednesday, in Essex-street Chapel, London, the following resolution, moved by the Rev. A. Gordon, and seconded by the Rev. H. W. Crosskey, of Birmingham, was passed:—

That the Education Bill introduced by Lord Sandon fails to provide adequate securities for religious liberty, inasmuch as—1, no provision is made for the establishment of undenominational schools in every locality, and

therefore, should compulsion be actively exercised, the children belonging to all denominations will be driven to schools under sectarian management; 2, by the provisions empowering boards of guardians and town councils to depute their authority to committees holding no representative relationship to the ratepayers the private managers of sectarian schools may obtain entire control of the education of many districts; 3, by the general operation of the bill, should it become law, inferior schools which are kept in existence for sectarian purposes will be so strengthened and supported out of public funds that the establishment of board schools under the direct control of the ratepayers will be materially obstructed, and in many parts of the country entirely prevented.

A public meeting of the friends of National and Undenominational Education was held at Liverpool on Thursday, Mr. J. Patterson in the chair. The following resolutions were adopted:—

This meeting, being earnestly desirous of promoting a thoroughly national system of elementary education which shall be both effective in the instruction of the children of the country, and just to those who have to pay for that instruction, is of opinion that Lord Sandon's Education Bill is open to the following very serious objections: 1. By adopting the system of indirect compulsion it allows thousands of children to grow up idle and uneducated, and thus defeats the wishes of all earnest advocates of education. 2. By providing that where school boards do not exist town councils or boards of guardians may exercise the powers of school boards to compel attendance at school, it entrusts education to bodies which are not qualified to deal with it, indefinitely postpones the universal establishment of school boards, and thus effectually prevents the erection of any but denominational schools. 3. In attempting to deal with vagrant children it associates education with crime, which tends to destroy the sense of parental responsibility, and fosters schools which are intensely sectarian, and, for the most part, under private management. 4. By Clause 13 and 14 it makes increased grants out of the Consolidated Fund to denominational and often inefficient schools; and by Clause 12 it permits the rates to be used for the same sectarian ends. 5. By clause 24 the managers of denominational schools may have delegated to them from the town council or the board of guardians the power conferred under Clause 6 to compel the attendance of children within their district at those schools, even though they be the children of Nonconformist parents; and by Clause 22 the expense of enforcing attendance at these schools will fall on the ratepayers generally. That a petition to the Honourable the House of Commons, embodying the views of this meeting, as conveyed in the foregoing resolution, and praying for such amendment of the bill as shall meet the wishes of the petitioners, be prepared and signed, and forwarded to Mr. W. Rathbone, M.P., for presentation. And that a copy of the petition be sent to each of the borough and county members, and the member for Birkenhead.

At the annual meeting of the Baptist Worcestershire Association, held at Henley in Arden, on June 6, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

That this association of ministers and delegates consider that the Education Bill introduced by the Government is retrograde in its principle and unjust in its provisions, inasmuch as it compels children to attend schools the religious teaching of which is opposed to the religious principles held by the parents of such children.

THE BILL IN RELATION TO IRELAND.

The following extract from an article in the *School Board Chronicle* refers to a point of transcendent importance in connection with Lord Sandon's bill:—

The Irish Ultramontane members will, no doubt, setting aside all party considerations, to a man support Lord Sandon's Bill and endeavour to get it passed into law. For if the bill does but imperfectly establish and perpetuate the denominational system in England and Wales by reason of the fact that a considerable portion of the ground is covered by the school board system, there is no school board system in Ireland, and a bill very little different from Lord Sandon's, applied to Ireland, would realise the fondest dreams of the Papal party. The passing of this bill, if it pass, will be a red letter day at the Vatican and a day of rejoicing in the councils of Ultramontaniam in every part of the world. For the last five or six years it has been generally regarded in this island as a settled thing that though the denominational system was not by any means dead, it could never, after the Act of 1870, be made the basis of the further extension of national education; and when people looked across to Ireland, and speculated on the difficulties of the problem of national education in that country, one thing only seemed certain, and that was that Parliament could not legislate for national education in Ireland on the denominational system. Mr. Forster's bill and the Cowper-Temple clause seemed to have settled that point for ever, and it only remained to be seen how existing interests and opinions in that country could be in the course of time reconciled to the step in advance which this country had made in political science in relation to popular education. Other countries—continental and Roman Catholic countries—were gradually taking national education out of the hands of the priests, and our Education Act of 1870, with its Cowper-Temple clause and its other clauses as to religious education, showed us the way by which a system of national education might by-and-by, when people learned by experience the wholesomeness of the principle, be introduced into Ireland without rendering Parliament a party to the teaching of the Roman Catholic priesthood in the public schools. The simple principle that it is the business of the nation to see that all its children receive secular education, leaving religious instruction to parental, clerical, and other voluntary agency, was in its essence affirmed—though not fully and hastily carried out to the utmost detail—in the legislation of 1870, and it might be hoped that this principle would by a natural process commend itself presently even to those proportions of the population of those islands least predisposed to accept it at once.

This salutary process and the realisation of these

hopes will, we fear, be, to say the least, most seriously retarded by the attempt to finish what Mr. Forster began, on the lines laid down by Lord Sandon. The Irish members, having helped to carry by a splendid majority the Government Education Bill of 1876, will naturally ask for a similar measure applied to Ireland, and such a measure, with the addition of a provision in harmony with it for the erection of new schools where the supply is deficient, would hand over national education in Ireland almost from shore to shore to the priests of the Roman Catholic Church. We do not desire to say a word in disrespect of that religion, nor is it necessary for our argument. All we need insist upon is that it is not the business of Parliament to raise up or to maintain a machinery in Ireland whereby the children of that country may be taught the doctrines and practices of the Roman Catholic Church. The thing is not a universally admitted necessity of civilised life, like fresh air, food, civil rights, and education, and therefore it is not a public duty to provide it; it is a thing that a large portion of the community believe to be mischievous, and therefore it would be a gross dereliction of duty on the part of Parliament to establish the teaching of this religion as a part of the national education. Nevertheless Lord Sandon's Bill seems almost to commit the country to a denominational system of national education in Ireland. If we adopt the principle for England and Wales the Irish difficulty will follow, and if then we refuse to apply it to Ireland we shall lay ourselves open once more to the charge of political injustice to the sister Isle.

This is the price we shall pay for our departure from the principle roughly embodied in the Act of 1870.

ANALYSIS OF THE BILL.

The following useful summary of the leading provisions of the bill is extracted from a circular issued to the correspondents and agents of the Liberation Society:—

I.—AS TO COMPELSION.

Indirect Compulsion. No person shall take into his employment any child who is under ten years of age, or who, being ten, has not obtained a certificate of proficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic, or of previous attendance at an elementary school (Clause 4). The penalty may be forty shillings (Clause 17).

Exceptions.—The prohibition will not apply if there be no public elementary school within two miles, or if the employment does not interfere with the efficient instruction of the child, or if it be in hay, or corn harvest, hop-picking, &c. (Clause 11). For the first twelve months after its passing, the Act will apply to children of the age of nine years, but it will not apply to any child who has attained the age of eleven, or who is already employed (Clause 37).

Direct Compulsion.—After due warning, the local authority is to summon the parent who neglects to provide with instruction any child above five years old, or any child found habitually wandering, or in the company of vagabonds, or disorderly persons (Clause 7). If the order of the court to send the child to school is not complied with, a penalty of five shillings may be inflicted. Or, if the parent has used reasonable efforts to enforce compliance, the child may be sent to an industrial school; the parent being liable to contribute to the expense. Further penalties may be inflicted for subsequent cases of non-compliance (Clause 8).

Excuses.—Among the reasonable excuses which will be admitted are—the absence of a public elementary school within two miles, sickness, and necessary domestic employment (Clause 7).

II.—AS TO THE MODE OF ENFORCING THE ACT.

The provisions respecting the employment of children are to be enforced (1) by the school board, where there is one, and elsewhere (2), if in a borough, by the council, and (3) if in a parish, by the guardians of the Union to which it belongs. Inspectors of factories, &c., are to enforce the observance of the Act by employers (Clause 5).

A borough council may, "if they think fit," make bye-laws for the compulsory attendance of children at schools. The guardians shall do so "on the requisition of the parish, but not otherwise" (Clause 6). The requisition of the parish is to be made in the same manner as an application for a school board (Clause 20).

The local authority are to appoint, and may remunerate, officers for the enforcement of the Act (Clause 21).

Default of Local Authority.—If the local authority fail to fulfil their duty under the Act, the Education Department may appoint persons to perform such duty, and the expenses must be paid by the defaulting authority (Clause 19).

Power to Delegate Authority.—The local authority under this Act, although not a school board, may, from time to time, delegate all or any of their powers under this Act (except the power of raising money) to a general committee appointed by them. The local authority, or any such general committee, may, if they think fit, from time to time, delegate to different local committees appointed by them, within different parishes, or other areas in their district, all or any of their powers under this Act, so far as respects such parish or area, except the power of raising money. (Clause 24).

The second schedule contains the following, among other rules as to committees appointed by the local authority:—

"Any committee (general or local) appointed by a local authority, may consist of not less than three persons, being, as the authority appointing them think fit, either wholly or partly members of that authority, or other persons. Subject to any regulations made by the local authority, the provisions of the third schedule of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, with reference to proceedings of managers appointed by a school board, shall apply to the proceedings of a committee appointed under this Act by a local authority. Where a general committee appoint a local committee, such general committee shall be deemed in these rules to be included in the term local authority."

III.—PECUNIARY PROVISIONS.

Parliamentary grant to schools in poor districts.—The following is extracted from the 13th Clause:—

"The minutes of the Education Department relating to the annual Parliamentary grant shall provide that where in any year the Education Department are satisfied that in any school district, or in the case of the London district or of a borough containing a population

exceeding five thousand) in any such part of a school district as is for the purposes of this section constituted a special division, a rate of threepence in the pound on the rateable value of such school district or special division of a district would produce less than six shillings per head of one-sixth part of the population of such school district or special division, the annual Parliamentary grant to be made during that year to any public elementary school situated in such district or special division of a district shall not exceed double the amount of the income of the school for that year derived from voluntary contributions, rates, and fees, instead of not exceeding the amount of such last-mentioned income.

In the London district the areas following, that is to say—(1) Any union wholly situate in that district; or (2) Any parish within that district, and forming part of a union not wholly situate in that district—shall be deemed to be special divisions of a school district for the purposes of this section.

In a borough the areas following shall be deemed to be special divisions of a school district for the purposes of this section, that is to say—

(1) Any area being a ward in the borough which is co-extensive with a parish or parishes, or with any other area in which a separate rate assessable on the basis of the poor-rate is levied; and (2) as regards any part of the borough not comprised in any such ward as aforesaid, whether the borough is or not divided into wards, any area which may be defined to be a special division by a resolution of the council of the borough, approved by the Local Government Board and the Education Department."

"In this section the London district means the school district of the school board for London."

Payment of Fees.—The guardians of the poor may pay the school fees where the parents are unable from poverty to do so. It is not to be a condition that the child attends, or does not attend, any particular public elementary school (Clause 12).

Expenses of enforcing the Act.—These are to be paid by a town council out of the borough fund, or rate, and by boards of guardians out of the poor-rate. (Clause 23).

Correspondence.

POLITICAL EFFEMINACY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—When is Liberalism to be delivered from its present bondage? We seem to grow smaller every day. If some change or other does not soon take place, the Liberal party will die of gentility. Our aristocratic leaders lag in the rear, and the intellectual ones startle at their own shadows. What with Lowe's hobgoblins, and Hartington's cowardice, we have recently been made to look not a little ridiculous. Is it not pretty well time that we parted company with some of our timid officers? What have the most of us in common with Mr. Lowe or Sir William Harcourt, and a dozen others who hang on to the skirts of the Liberal party rather than belong to it? It appears to me that there will be no deliverance for us until we get away from the superstitious reverence which leads us to make gods of these old Whig potentates. What inspiration for instance was there in Lord Granville's City oration the other day? It was more like the last utterance of a political moribund than the trumpet call of a leader. One would imagine that the topmost stone of the temple of civil and religious liberty had been brought forth, and that all that now remained to be done was to shout "Grace, grace unto it." But how wide of the real truth is any such supposition! A vast deal of land yet remains to be possessed. Mr. Arch is knocking at the door of our constitution and demands admission for his half-million of brother workers. Lord Hartington may affect deafness, but depend upon it Mr. Arch will find means of making him hear. The *Times* too will have to bow its mighty head. I wonder at the Thunderer's repetition of its stagey little trick of not reporting the Labourers' Conference and Demonstration. It is very grand, I have no doubt, not to see so vulgar an affair, but somehow or other the loftiness loses its effect upon us. When Joseph Arch first opened his commission as a social reformer four years ago, the same little game was played by the *Times*. It would not know the man. Even advertisements of the movements were refused admission to the sacred page. We have seen how all the starch went out of its collar as the movement grew in power, and so doubtless will it be again. Mr. Arch has got hold of a righteous cause in insisting on his followers' enfranchisement, and at the proper moment Printing House-square will be at his back. But the leaders of the Liberal party cannot afford thus to palter with a great question.

Surely if any subject is ripe for settlement it is this one of the county franchise. It is simply monstrous that a measure such as the new Educational Bill should be carried amid the enforced silence of those most deeply interested in it. By that measure, should it pass in its present state into law, Joseph Arch might be compelled to send his children to a school where they would be taught

that their father was a lineal descendant of Koran, Dathan, and Abiram, and that it was only a question of time when he and all other schismatics would go down head foremost into a similar yawning abyss. Thousands of our village children will be handed over to this sort of teaching. The bulk of the rural clergy—whom the Tories aspire to make still more potential, altering their present limited monarchy over the souls of the people into an absolute one—are steeped in the modified Popery known as "Anglicanism."

This is not a time for our political chiefs to be hanging up their armour in the hall, and dreaming of the millennium. The Liberal programme, so far from being finished, is in reality only just commenced. Little more than the undoing of past Tory iniquities has yet been done. The positive achievements are yet to come. The abolition of the opium trade; the efficient control of the liquor traffic; the utter destruction of all State-Churchism throughout the whole British Empire; the establishment of European arbitration boards for the settlement of disputes without recourse to war; the extension and readjustment of the electoral franchise so as to give a fair and equal representation to all the different sections of English society; an overhauling of Mr. Forster's School Act as to eliminate all its objectionable features, and make it harmonise with the principles of absolute civil and religious equality and the inalienable rights of man:—these are some of the planks of the platform of the future Liberal party; and if the respectable Whigs who now occupy the position of leaders are too old, or too rich, or too gouty, or too intellectual, or too timid, to go ahead and do the work, then let them stand on one side and give way to our Dilkes and Chamberlains, our Dales and Cowens, our Richards and Brights, our Fawcetts and Mundellas, and the hundreds of other able and willing men to be found throughout the country. There is really no lack of Liberal energy and force all around us, only we are afraid to utilise it. We seem unable to move unless a live lord or a millionaire is at our head. Coronets and gold are alike omnipotent in Church and State. Hence our religious and political *fascos*. The real work of the world has ever been done in spite of, rather than by, the rich and the noble; and yet, forsooth! after eighteen centuries of Christianity we are as mad after the golden calf to dance around as were the poor fools of the wilderness. I would strongly urge upon the earnest men, whom your far-reaching columns come before, throughout the cities and towns of England, to commence at once the formation of political organisations in their respective localities. Only let them beware of gold. Tory money-bags must not be fought with Liberal ones, or every vestige of enthusiasm will be suppressed. The obtrusiveness of wealth is the paralysis of patriotism, as it is unquestionably the bane of religion. Gold will have its price, and the nabob who gives his fifty, or five hundred, or five thousand pounds becomes master of the position, and the organisation, be it civil or religious, is thenceforth the rich man's puppet.

The past achievements of Liberalism have been wrought by the earnestness and self-denial of comparatively poor men, and the demoralisation of Liberalism has been brought about by the professional harpies who have been drawn to it by its wealthy patrons' profuse expenditure. This I take to be the key to our present "political effeminacy."

Yours faithfully,

A RADICAL.

Clifton, June, 1876.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

The death is announced of Mdme. Dudevant, better known by her designation in literature, George Sand. She died on Thursday morning at Nohant. The deceased lady was born in Paris on July 5, 1804, and she had thus almost completed her seventy-second year. In 1822 she married M. Dudevant, the son of an officer in the Imperial army, but the marriage was not a happy one, and a separation finally took place. Mdme. Dudevant had abjured Roman Catholicism, but retained her faith in the immortality of the soul.

SUNDAY TRADING IN AMERICA.—In New York City, on Sunday, May 22 (the *Philadelphia Ledger* says), a sudden and vigorous enforcement of the law against Sunday liquor selling was put into operation. The police gave a thorough overhauling to the taverns, hotels, and saloons all over the city, the result being the arrest of some five hundred saloon-keepers and their bar-tenders who were violating the statute. The law has been practically obsolete for years in New York, and its sudden enforcement caused consternation in many quarters, particularly in the large hotels, where the Sunday sales are at times heavier than those on week days. The New York newspapers are filled

with descriptions of and comments on the scenes that occurred in making these arrests, and the lists of the captured fill columns.

RUSSIAN PROPAGANDISM IN PARIS.—A Paris correspondent of the *Daily News* sent the other day a letter full of very curious information as to the proceedings of Russian agents in France. According to this account, Russia is at present making energetic efforts to win over French politicians, journalists, and public men of all kinds to the idea of a Franco-Russian alliance, through the agency of a number of secret service emissaries commissioned for that purpose. These emissaries work independently of the Russian Embassy, of which, however, they make use in forming a social relations in fashionable and political circles. They are directed by a former Consul-General of Russia and by a Pole of Jewish extraction, "professing to subsist by pamphlets, that do not sell, on political economy." The latter lives in good style and button holes ambassadors. It seems to be universally understood that he is a person of great social weight. The Consul-General is a man of ability and penetration, but does not often go into French society. He has, however, considerable influence over many persons who do, to judge from the fact that "the skeletons in the closets of Frenchmen of note have been numbered and labelled by him," and that "he is said to have photographs of compromising documents which, if communicated to the *parquet*, might have the effect of sending men who have held as high posts as M. Clement Duvernois to manufacture list slippers in prison." This formidable personage is assisted by a staff of clerks composed of Poles, Wallachs, Greeks, and Russians, and his "police is organised on the system of equal rights, which is not a novel feature in Russian diplomacy." Nor are the services wanting of the sex which is supposed to furnish the best diplomatic talent. Prince Gortschakoff and his *alter ego* in Paris have in Paris have in their service a bevy of diplomatic ladies, all Russians, but some of them French by marriage. These ladies are, according to the writer, as energetic in their efforts as they are versatile in their abilities, and his account of their artifices for obtaining and exercising influence upon the most various classes of French society is exceedingly curious.

THE LATE LADY AUGUSTA STANLEY.—The following inscription has, says the *Guardian*, been placed over the grave of Lady Augusta Stanley in Henry VII.'s Chapel:—

"Fuinus. Sans changer.
Augusta Elizabeth Frederica,
Fifth daughter of Thomas Bruce,
Seventh Earl of Elgin and Kincardine.
The beloved wife
of Arthur Perbryn Stanley,
Dean of this collegiate church,
For thirty years the devoted servant
of Queen Victoria
and the Queen's mother and children.
For twelve years the unwearied friend
of the people of Westminster,
and the inseparable partner
of her husband's toils and hopes,
Uniting many hearts from many lands
and drawing all to things above.
Born April 3, 1822.
Died March 1st, 1876.

We know that we have passed from death unto
because we love the brethren.

EUROPEAN NATIONAL DEBTS.—In an interesting article on this subject the *Daily News* refers to the amount of indebtedness of the six great Powers, Turkey of course being left out for obvious reasons. According to the latest returns the liability is as follows in round figures:—

Great Britain...	775 millions
Austria-Hungary...	362 "
Germany...	46 "
France...	930 "
Italy...	356 "
Russia...	380 "

There is thus a total debt of about 2,800 millions sterling, but this requires some qualification. Germany, for instance, has no real public debt, and the amount set down merely represents the expenditure on railways by the various States now merged in the Empire; and included in the Russian total is also the amount under which she is guarantee for certain railways. It is, however, not in the extent of the debt of a nation, but in its ability to meet the interest, &c., on it, that attention chiefly centres, and this can be only properly measured by considering the trade, population, &c., of the various countries. The total value of the imports and exports of Great Britain roughly stated are 590 millions annually, being about 76 per cent. of the debt; France, about 30 per cent. of her debt, or a little over 300 millions; Russia, 29 per cent.; Austria-Hungary, 23 per cent.; Italy, 26 per cent.; but for Germany it is not possible to give the actual percentage in the absence of full statistics; but it stands very high. The amount of debt per head of population stands as follows:—

France...	£25
Great Britain...	23½
Italy...	13
Austria...	10
Russia...	4
Germany...	1

In the above Russia is credited with the whole of her subjects, both in Europe and Asia, and if the same rule was applied to the British Empire the average would be under 4½ per head.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Samuel Langley."—Next week.

*. In consequence of the unexpected length of our
 report of the important Conference on Lord Sandon's
 Education Bill, several communications from our cor-
 respondents are unavoidably postponed.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14, 1876.

SUMMARY.

ONCE more we venture to invite serious atten-
 tion to Lord Sandon's Education Bill. In
 another column we have spoken some last
 words upon the subject, and we should be glad
 if, in connection with these, our readers would
 carefully read the full report we have given of
 the proceedings of the Conference held at West-
 minster on Monday last. The masterly analysis
 of the provisions of the bill given on that occa-
 sion by Mr. Picton, the tone of indignant
 protest adopted by the subsequent speakers,
 and the resolutions passed by various public
 representative bodies in condemnation of the
 measure, leave no doubt as to its dangerous
 character. We are glad to find that, in accor-
 dance with the general feeling of Monday's
 Conference, Sir Charles Dilke has given
 notice that he will meet the proposal
 to read the bill a second time to-
 morrow night with a direct negative; the
 amendment of Mr. Mundella not being adapted
 to raise the objections felt alike by Nonconfor-
 mists and the supporters of unsectarian national
 education. This is as it should be. We have
 reason to believe that Sir Charles will divide
 the House on the occasion. If he should not
 succeed in bringing about the rejection of the bill,
 as is only too probable, we understand that Mr.
 Richard will be prepared with another amend-
 ment on the motion for going into committee.

There will thus be ample time for effective action out of doors, of which we trust all will instantly avail themselves who desire to prevent the country districts from being saddled in perpetuity with a new ecclesiastical establishment, under the guise of schools supported almost exclusively out of public money, but exclusively in the hands of the clergy and their adherents. We have not the smallest misgiving that if public feeling should be sufficiently pronounced, the leaders of the Opposition will not be slow to place themselves at the head of a united Liberal party in contesting this insidious and reactionary measure. And we are equally confident that a resolute resistance in Parliament, backed up out of doors, to Lord Sandon's Education Bill will be as successful as was the resistance to his lordship's Endowed Schools Bill two years ago.

One very noteworthy feature of the conference was the solution of the educational problem in rural districts suggested by Mr. T. R. Hill, M.P., and already, we believe, thrown out in the *Daily News*. It is briefly that, inasmuch as there is a superfluity of school accommodation, and small probability that rural ratepayers will consent to tax themselves to erect new ones, the so-called national schools should, by arrangement with their managers, be made truly national—that is, such as all people could use without religious objection. Mr. A. Illingworth cordially endorsed this suggestion as admirably adapted to meet the exigency. But will the managers of rural schools endorse it? Do they in this matter make education subservient to Church objects? Lord Sandon evidently thinks so; the precise object of his bill being to bolster up these schools as denominational institutions. But Mr. Hill's proposal would give a solid basis for the action of the Liberal party in the House of Commons.

That assembly set to work again on Thursday after the Whitsuntide recess—but very languidly. The Commons Bill, spite of vigorous opposition, has passed through committee. Mr. Disraeli's important statement on the Eastern Question at Friday's sitting we have elsewhere referred to. By the agency of Sir W. Fraser, Mr. Ripley's trumpety grievance against the Reform Club—which was in effect that political clubs must not be political when it does not suit the personal convenience of the hon. member for Bradford—occupied several hours on Monday, and was rather laughed at by the Premier. Mr. Disraeli, who has wonderfully recovered his health, himself took in hand the Judiciary Bill and persuaded the House, after a languid discussion, to accept the second reading.

Subsequently, on the same evening, the Oxford University Bill came on for second reading. When Mr. Hardy rose to make his explanatory statement, there were just eleven members present! In the face of such a marked absence of interest, Mr. Osborne Morgan must have felt discouraged in moving the amendment of which he had given notice:—"That in view of the large legislative powers entrusted to the University of Oxford Commissioners by this bill, this House is of opinion that the bill does not sufficiently declare or define the principles and scope of the changes which such commissioners are empowered to make in that University and the colleges therein." The debate was relieved from dreariness by Mr. Lowe's very frank, lively, and drastic description of the personnel of the Oxford Commission. The right hon. gentleman said, in words that are worthy of being quoted:—

Who was the first Commissioner? Lord Selborne was an old friend of his own, but he was extremely devoted to High-Church principles, and was probably the first Lord Chancellor who had ever composed hymns. (Laughter.) A more estimable gentleman did not exist than Lord Redesdale, but he was an obstructive genius. (Laughter.) He was a very able man, but he presented an almost superhuman strength when he got on to obstruction. (Laughter.) Then there was the Dean of Chichester, who was a very amiable gentleman, but his pretensions were of such a nature that even the decorum of the House of Lords could not stand them. (Laughter.) He believed him to be properly described as a jocose fanatic. (Loud laughter.) It was impossible for him to give an impartial judgment. Then he came to one who was a relation of his own—Mr. Mountague Bernard. He was a gentleman of great acquirements and great ability, but he was the editor of a High-Church newspaper. (Laughter.) In regard to Sir Henry Maine he must say that nobody could fail to admire him. He was an ornament to the literature of this century, but he was the alter ego of Lord Salisbury—(laughter)—and he was a sort of ministerial agent of Lord Salisbury in the councils of India. Then came a gentleman, for whom he had the highest honour, and that was Mr. Justice Grove. But with his occupation he had no time to work out the details of the commission, and he would be a mere ornamental member. The last he came to was the hon. member for Northumberland, against whom he had nothing to allege. On the contrary, he believed him to be a very good member. (Laughter, and Conservative cheers.) Was it fair because the Government had a majority that

they should impose upon the House that most arbitrary and unconstitutional bill, and then place the working of it in the hands of that commission? He hoped in the latter respect it was not too late to have some amendment. He did not propose that the names of any of the gentlemen he had mentioned should be struck off the commission. That was always an invidious thing to do. They were all highly honoured and respected; but he did hope the Government would allow the Opposition to put on the commission some members who would temper the extreme views of the present members. (Hear.) It was not right that they were to have three or four very High-Churchmen without any counter-balance. If they had the poison they should have the antidote. (Laughter.) They should, therefore, have two or three raging Low-Churchmen to take off the virus. (Cheers.)

Mr. Lowe's main argument—whether entirely serious we cannot say—was that the education at Oxford, such as it was, was carried on not in the University, but in the colleges, and by the tutors and others. Yet it was proposed, he said, to take money from those who were doing all the work to give it to those who did nothing but examine. No Minister rose to answer Mr. Lowe, on the ground, as alleged by Sir Stafford Northcote, that Mr. Lowe answered himself. Finally, on the understanding that the general discussion might be resumed on the second reading of the Cambridge measure next week, the bill was read a second time, Mr. Morgan's amendment being withdrawn. In the course of his speech the hon. member for Denbighshire remarked that two-fifths of the fellowships at Oxford could only be obtained or held by clergymen. Yet on this important point no instruction is given in the bill to the commissioners. The question, it will be remembered, was raised in the House of Lords by Lord Granville, who was defeated by a small majority. Surely, after such a division, the bill will not be allowed to pass the Commons without the scandal of clerical fellowships being taken up and exposed by leading members of the Opposition!

We regret to find that the expected Liberal triumph in Belgium has been frustrated by the fanatical efforts of the Romish clergy. The elections which took place yesterday have resulted in a net gain of only one seat to that party, leaving the Government still in a majority of twelve. Though the Liberals easily carried Brussels, Liège, Ostend, and other large places, they were defeated at Antwerp and Bruges, though by diminished majorities. In fact, the failure at Antwerp, where it was thought six Ultramontanes would have been unseated, "decides the situation." There is great excitement throughout the country, especially at Brussels, Ghent, and Antwerp. A telegram from the last-named city says—"Fighting is going on in all parts of the town." The Ultramontanes have gained a victory, but not a decisive one.

Little needs to be added to the review of the news relative to the Eastern question given in the article below. It may, however, be said that the important statement made by the Prime Minister on Friday, so conciliatory in tone and felicitous in expression, has evoked a chorus of approval from the continental press, with one conspicuous exception. The *Nord*, an "official" organ of Russian opinion, published at Brussels, in what looks like an inspired article, has made a furious onslaught on England for having frustrated the Berlin arrangement, and thwarted the benevolent intentions of the St. Petersburg Government. This diatribe the *Journal des Débats* treats as a confession of Russian failure, and a sign that the British policy of abstention has triumphed, and the *Constitutionnel* as a bungling attempt to mask the retreat of Prince Gortschakoff. That veteran statesman's Eastern policy having turned out to be a dead failure, the report of his speedy retirement from office, which comes from Berlin, is not very surprising, nor if confirmed; would it be generally deplored in Europe. The political atmosphere is for the moment serene, and French, Italian, and even Austrian papers are lavish in their eulogies upon Lord Derby for his successful efforts in curbing Russian aggression and averting war. But the Porte is losing a golden opportunity. The precious time, which should be used to bring about a solution of all difficulties, appears to be wasted by the new Ministers in barren discussions as to the nature of the remedies that should be applied at Constantinople and in the rebellious provinces.

To-day the National Republican Convention will meet at Cincinnati to choose a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. The favourite appears to be Mr. Blaine, a politician of good repute, though not of so high a character as Mr. Bristowe. Mr. Blaine has surmounted two perils. A charge of corrupt practices was brought against him in Congress, and triumphantly refuted. Two or three days ago he had a sunstroke, and though he is pro-

nounced out of danger, he is still seriously ill. It is, however, supposed that he will receive the votes of two-thirds of the delegates. The other Republican candidates are Mr. Conkling, who is understood to have the support of General Grant; Mr. Bristowe, who not being one of the party nominations, seems to stand little chance; Mr. Hartranft, who is the favourite of the Pennsylvanian delegates; and Mr. Morton, who is likely to have the coloured vote. The Democratic Convention meets somewhat later, but the members of this party are so much divided upon various questions, that their prospect of electing a president next autumn does not appear to be very bright.

THE NEW PHASE OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

THERE is a temporary, we hope it may not prove to be an ominous, pause in the movement of events pertaining to the Eastern Question. The new Sultan has been formally installed and is to be girt with the sword of Othman at the Eyaub Mosque. His Grand Vizier, Rushdi Pasha, has intimated in a letter the general policy of the Porte. An amnesty has been proclaimed, of which the insurgents may, if they trust it, take advantage. An armistice for six weeks has been ordered—that is, the military representatives of the Sultan have been bidden to suspend all action against the rebels in arms, except such as may be deemed necessary for the concentration of their forces, and for the revictualing of Nikais. The general aim of the Sultan's advisers is given out to be a large reform of Turkish institutions in what may be called the Western sense of that term. But time is passing, and nothing definite has yet been done. No details have been agreed upon by the Cabinet of Constantinople. Indeed, there is reason to fear that the Ministers to whom the government of the Ottoman Empire has been trusted by Murad V. are not agreed among themselves. Midhat Pasha, it is said, has been charged with the elaboration of a scheme for a national council; which, however, is to devote itself exclusively to financial matters and the discussion of the budget. Meanwhile, the foreign Powers, including Russia, have put a bridle into the mouth of Serbia; the Government of that little state, in answer to an inquiry of the Grand Vizier, asking in a very conciliatory tone for explanations respecting the military preparations carried on in the Principality, replying that no hostile intention whatever has been entertained towards the Porte; that Serbia fully recognises the integrity of the Ottoman Empire as the basis of her strength; and that Prince Milan will send a special delegate to Constantinople with a view to the maintenance of a good understanding. Such facts as these were, no doubt, in the mind of Mr. Disraeli when he told the House of Commons on Friday night that there was an agreement on the part of the Powers with the Government of this country to grant a reasonable time to the Porte to frame and promulgate its programme of political action; and, further, that all were equally agreed to recognise Murad V.

It will be readily seen from these facts that the Eastern Question has virtually passed into a new phase. Turkey has now, perhaps, through the refusal of England to give her adhesion to the Berlin Memorandum, though mainly, no doubt, in consequence of the deposition of Abdul Aziz, recovered her right of initiative in the arrangement of her own internal affairs, but tempered with a stringent obligation resting upon her to redress the wrongs and put an end to the sufferings of her Christian subjects. She is no longer, we may say, exposed to the exclusive dictation of Russia. All the Great Powers, it is true, whilst agreed in holding aloof from direct interference, are watching with keen interest what she is prepared to do in her own name and with a view to her own interests. But her hands are now free, at all events for a time, and an opportunity has been secured to her of taking such steps as to her may seem good for pacifying the anger and satisfying the demands of her rebellious provinces. It is not by any means clear what she will do in this matter; but what she does it is quite evident must be done quickly. To some extent, the Constitutional reforms demanded by the Softas and contemplated by Midhat Pasha would, if carried into effect, ameliorate the condition of the Christian portion of the population of Turkey; and in dealing with the Empire at large, irrespectively of differences of race or religion of those who come under the sway of the Sultan, it is possible that without stooping to offer terms to the Christians as such, their freedom from future oppression may be secured. But we fear that the designs

of "Young Turkey" will chiefly affect the financial administration of the empire, and will not comprise to any satisfactory extent, or establish by any trustworthy guarantee those political and social changes which the Rayahs of the empire demand. The difficulty is not so much in devising reforms as in finding men of capacity and good faith to see them carried into effect. "The integrity of the Ottoman Empire"—a phrase newly revived—can only be maintained in one way; and that is by conferring upon the revolted provinces full powers of self-government under the suzerainty of the Porte. Whether the British Government will recommend a resort to this plan, or whether, if it does, the new Sultan and his Cabinet will agree to it, remains to be seen. Provision, of course, would have to be made for the protection of the Turkish minority under this system. But, at any rate, it appears to be the only line of outlet for the party now in power at Constantinople from the all-but inextricable difficulties in which they have been involved by a long course of misrule under the old system.

We by no means despair of some such satisfactory settlement, at least for many years to come, of the Eastern question. Whatever may have been the underhand designs of Russia for the purpose of ingratiating herself with the Sclavic portion of her population, or peradventure for the annexation to her own dominions of some part of Turkish territory, it seems quite evident that events have compelled her to lay them aside. She does not mean to venture upon a war with the certain prospect of upsetting the balance of power in Europe. She is not prepared to initiate so violent a strategy. She would not risk the danger of it without the support of a formidable ally. That she is conscious of having already placed herself in a difficult and delicate relation to the other Powers of Europe, by the diplomatic course which she has pursued, may be inferred from her taking no ostensible offence at the frustration of her object by the events of the last fortnight. She is well aware that one of the aims of the recent revolution at Constantinople was to dethrone the supremacy of her influence there by dethroning the late Sultan. She does not persist in what has been understood to be her astute policy. According to Mr. Disraeli all the Powers are, to a certain extent, agreed, if not as to what should be done, at least as to what shall not be done. Their common object is the preservation of peace; and that end, Mr. Disraeli hopes, they will succeed in realising. Something, it must be admitted, has been gained where time has been gained. To use a hackneyed expression, there is now both motive and opportunity for "a new departure." Almost everything will depend upon the forthcoming programme of the Turkish Government. If it honestly seeks to place itself in accord with Western ideas, it may yet preserve with advantage to itself as well as to its Christian subjects, and, we may add, of all the States of Europe, the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. But in another sense than that of Napoleon III., it must strike quickly and must strike decisively.

THE PERSE GRAMMAR SCHOOL CASE.

THE general astonishment expressed at the dismissal of Mr. F. C. Maxwell from the Perse Grammar School only shows what a world of humbug we live in. For ourselves we really cannot pretend any surprise at all at the deed itself. It is quite what we are accustomed to. Such things are continually taking place all over the country. The only unusual feature in this affair, and one which is noteworthy, seems to be the frank straightforwardness of Mr. J. B. Allen, the head master, who states, with a plainness which we fear will be regarded as cynical, the real reason of his prejudice against a valuable assistant. A more worldly-minded person than Mr. Allen would easily have discovered a hundred pretexts, any one of which, prettily sugared over with compliments, would have made a suitable preamble to a request for his resignation. And then, if any vulgar Dissenting paper had dared to hint that sectarianism had anything to do with the business, the only effect would have been to furnish another text to Mr. Matthew Arnold from which to preach on the acrid jealousy which embitters the unestablished churches. We all know how this sort of thing is managed. No one is really simple enough to suppose that the whole moral influence of the national Government can be thrown on the side of a single denomination, without creating a general feeling that any attempt, on the part of outside Christians, to compete for positions really of a national character, but hitherto generally occupied by members of the favoured denomination, is an unwarrantable intrusion, aggrava-

ting the sin of schism. There may be no legal impediment in the way; but it is easy to exaggerate objections which but for the religious position of the applicant would never have been thought of. A Dissenter applies for a mastership in an open school. His qualifications are high, his experience ample, his testimonials indisputable. But it will be hard if governors, whose whole social life is by express national law permeated by ecclesiastical prejudices, cannot find something in the man's manner, or pronunciation, or position in society, which shall be fatal to his otherwise superior claims. The case is much the same when a change takes place in the government of a school where a Dissenter happens to hold a position. If the new headmaster, or the new chairman, is a man of stronger ecclesiastical principles than his predecessor, he will not be slow in finding some plausible, but of course unsectarian, reason why the harmony of the staff and the success of the school would be improved by the removal of the heretic. Every one of the slightest experience in such matters is aware of cases like these. But they cannot be brought home, simply because, however strong the grounds of suspicion may be, it is impossible to prove that a man or a body of men acts from some particular motive when they tell you that this motive has nothing to do with their proceedings.

We, therefore, cordially appreciate the refreshing candour of Mr. J. B. Allen, who tells us flatly and plainly that he removes Mr. Maxwell because the religious creed of the latter is different from his own, and because the social position of the son of a Wesleyan minister is not at all up to the mark of an assistantship in a grammar-school. The letter to which we refer, and which we print in another column, will well repay perusal. Whether the gain will be a hearty laugh, or a saddened contempt for the fashionable religion of the day, will depend very much on the temper of the reader. The epistle begins with a pleasant allusion to the athletic sports which are just over. It might be supposed that Mr. Allen had waited until such bodily exercises had sufficiently braced up his nerves for the disagreeable duty he was about to discharge. But the perfect sang-froid of the writer relieves us from any anxiety with regard to his feelings, and it appears that Mr. Maxwell's fate had only been waiting the leisure of his spiritual judge. He states that the decision to which he has come is based upon his experience of two school terms. But he says nothing whatever as to the nature of that experience, except that the "zeal and heartiness" displayed by Mr. Maxwell, in addition to his other high qualifications, are all that could have been desired. His first objection is, that this gentleman was not of his choosing; but he candidly admits that this is no serious disparagement of Mr. Maxwell's merits—an admission which the public will heartily endorse. He then advances the main objection, which is that Mr. Maxwell presumes to break the Act of Uniformity which it has pleased the headmaster to establish for the government of the school. There is something touching in the evident unconsciousness of absurdity with which the writer alludes to "the fact of your religious creed being different from my own, and from that which I wish to see universal among my masters." But there is a subsidiary objection which is stated with as much delicacy as the subject will allow. "There is a certain difference of social position between yourself and the majority of the other members of my staff, which neither you nor they would probably desire to alter, but which is a complete barrier to the unanimity of sentiment and intercourse which I wish to see prevailing among us." To tell a man politely that he is "no gentleman" is perhaps as difficult a task as the exigencies of social life could possibly assign. If Mr. Allen acquits himself with creditable coolness, we must bear in mind the advantages he enjoys from the atmosphere of spiritual arrogance with which the Establishment surrounds the communion honoured by his membership. Mr. Allen afterwards proceeds to congratulate his victim on the fact that the house of the latter has been rapidly filled with boarders, "who," he hastily adds, "will of course go with you." Apparently he is under the impression that a brood of Dissenting vipers is being hatched, which it would be expedient to get rid of as speedily as possible. And he concludes with a deprecatory assurance that it is only a firm conviction of what is best in the interest of the school that has led to the step he is taking.

We repeat our conviction that there is nothing extraordinary in all this, except the unusual candour of Mr. Allen. But what a state of things does it reveal! Here is a case in which high attainments and higher character, zealous devotion, and warmhearted

sympathy for the young, all go for nothing, because the possessor of these qualities is by conscientious conviction a Wesleyan! If he had played the hypocrite, if he had ostentatiously attended church on high occasions, paying only occasional and clandestine visits to his conventicle, all would have been well. But because the religious fountain of his virtues does not flow through the prescribed channels of a political Established Church, Mr. Allen finds his presence in the school a vexation and a hindrance. Not only so; but, if Mr. Allen is right, all the masters of the school agree in this view of Mr. Maxwell's case. Yet not one has a word to say against him, except that he is a Wesleyan—a thing they would rather not touch even with a pair of tongs. What does it prove but that the persistent policy of Government after Government is successful; and that the obscurantism of the Establishment principle successfully resists all the forces of modern enlightenment. When is the thing to end? It may be that the deadly apathy which broods over the Liberal party just now is only like sullen stillness that precedes an unusual storm. And all uncharitable deeds, all spiritual arrogance, all Pharisaic assumption tend to loosen the foundations that are to be tried when that storm arises.

SKETCHES FROM THE GALLERY.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, Tuesday Morning.

The House of Commons returned to work on Thursday after the Whitsuntide recess without any signs of enthusiasm in view of the opportunity of renewed labour. To tell the truth, the scene was rather a melancholy one; more than half the benches being empty, and over all the place there hung a pall of weary indifference. Perhaps the most lively member was the Prime Minister, who has quite recovered from his late serious attack of illness, and is better than ever for the trial. He seemed quite brisk both in body and mind, and has miraculously recovered—it is to be hoped not merely temporarily—that admirable good temper and unfailing tact which on his part earned for him a reputation as a Parliamentary manager, possibly something beyond his merits. He seems unusually anxious to make up for lost time, and takes upon himself a share of the work of the Ministry quite disproportionate to his later wont. He has appeared in every debate and even every discussion of the week, and has invariably assisted the House to a right conclusion. As during some weeks previous—between Easter and Whitsuntide—his interposition was generally marked by devotion to the business of the House, the positive gain derived from this remarkable change of humour is almost incalculable. On the opening night the front Opposition bench presented an appearance that suggested the practical admission amongst Liberals, that we are indeed living under the best of all Governments, and that supervision is synonymous with supererogation. When business commenced there was absolutely no one in this prominent part of the House; though half-an-hour later, when at an unusually early hour the House got into committee, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, who has "marked the" Commons bill "for his own," and in a manner singularly reminiscent of melancholy and the youth in Gray's poem, came in, and was followed shortly after by Mr. Dodson, Sir H. James, and Mr. Goschen. Mr. Gladstone was about the House, but he did not stop, and has not since appeared, save for a few moments on Friday night. It was far into the sitting before the Marquis of Hartington appeared, and he did not stay long. The Commons Bill, which has been desperately fought by a very few members on the Opposition benches—who somehow or other have altogether failed to arouse the interest even of their own side—passed through committee, though a few debateable points still remain to be settled on the report. The remainder of the evening was filled up by discussion of the Civil Service Estimates, with which considerable progress was made, the average sum voted for each member present being considerably over a hundred thousand pounds. Late at night, or rather early on Friday morning, Mr. Selater-Booth brought in the long-promised bill for making further provision for the better prevention of the pollution of rivers; and later, still in a House considerably smaller than the moderate quorum, Mr. Cross introduced a bill for the establishment of a new bishopric. In this way, somewhat characteristic of the style in which Government business is managed, two important measures were laid before the House at a time when discussion was impracticable, and reporting extremely problematical.

On Friday night Mr. Disraeli made a statement on Eastern affairs more important in its bearings than any which the House of Commons has heard on the same question since the imbroglia commenced. The necessity for making this statement was a crucial test of Mr. Disraeli's convalescence, and he went through it in an absolutely triumphant manner. Nothing could have been better than either the manner or the matter of his speech. He was quiet, yet firm; determined, without being bombastic, and the manner in which he managed to suggest without absolutely affirming that the happy settlement of the difficulty was due directly to the interposition of the Government over which he presided, was inimitable. Some hours were taken up with a lamentable discussion on an ancient allegation made by one Mr. Henwood, against late officials of the Admiralty. Mr. Henwood is an inventor, and so long as ten years since he submitted to the Admiralty certain plans for turning old lamps into new. His plans were rejected, and with a pertinacity that would have been more useful if it had been employed in perfecting his invention, he has since pegged away at the Admiralty, accusing Mr. E. J. Reed, and other officials, of deliberately tampering with his specifications, with the view of making them ridiculous, and so removing a dangerous competitor. In Col. Beresford Mr. Henwood found one of the few members who could have espoused his cause, and have taken the direct line of attack followed out on Friday night. A good-natured, credulous man, with strong notions of duty—the gallant colonel thought he had discovered in this case a dark design which it was his mission to unfold and defeat. He threw himself into the contest with characteristic ardour, and at various intervals during the session has attempted to bring the matter before the House. It was made short work with on Friday night, not a single member rising to speak on behalf of the motion, which was for a select committee of inquiry (even Sir Edward Watkin, in seconding the motion, strictly limiting his approval), whilst those members who did speak indignantly and effectually condemned this trifling with the time of the House. After this, another matter, perhaps cursorily of imperial moment, was brought forward, Mr. Baillie Cochran vindicating the corporations of Brading and Yarmouth from the attack made upon them by Sir Charles Dilke, in his famous indictment of corporations. On the whole this defence was not successful—leading Sir Charles Dilke to make even more serious statements, and to lay before the Commissioners documents which, according to the hon. baronet's representation, it would be exceedingly difficult for the corporations of Yarmouth and Brading to answer.

Mr. Disraeli's resuscitation, both mentally and physically—which is perhaps the most marked feature of the Parliamentary week—was again testified to last night under peculiarly delicate circumstances. Sir William Fraser, contrary to the advice of the Speaker, and the counsel of his friends, distinguished himself by bringing under the notice of the House a correspondence which, as everybody knows, has taken place between Mr. Ripley and the Political Committee of the Reform Club. Mr. Ripley, ostensibly a Liberal member for Bradford, and a member of the Reform Club, has during many past sessions chanced to vote with the Conservative party against his own side, and the Reform Club, apparently thinking that a man who had changed his views would also do well to change his club, had gently suggested that course to the hon. member. The matter was one which will generally be thought interesting chiefly to Mr. Ripley, the members of the Reform Club, and possibly the constituency of Bradford. But Sir William Fraser, who has on former occasions shown himself—as Lord Hartington last night suggested—inclined to emulate the distinction gained by Mr. Charles Lewis, thought that the matter was one on which it was proper to raise the cry of "privilege." When last session Mr. Lewis took a similar course, Mr. Disraeli, in a blind paroxysm of rage against Mr. Lowe, permitted himself to be dragged into the abyss of absurdity, and took the House of Commons with him. Last night he treated the matter as it deserved, in the "spirit of gay wisdom" which he once attributed to Sir Wilfrid Lawson, and the matter was speedily and happily settled, but not before the Marquis of Hartington had "drawn" Mr. Charles Lewis, and elicited from that hon. member an indignant protest against being made "a butt of."

The bazaar at Exeter Hall on behalf of the London Temperance Hospital, realised £383.

Literature.

DAVID THOMAS, OF BRISTOL.*

We have read these "Memorials of David Thomas" with true pleasure. Like a quiet painting in low tone, with no bright hues or self-asserting points, but all in sweet accord, his character grows on one as one looks, becoming a helpful presence. David Thomas was modest, genuine, true, with no pretension or ambition, so that others had to celebrate him, and half force him into any prominent positions he ever took. He was one whose influence was not to be measured by any ordinary calculation of tangible results. He lived what he taught in a very exceptional sense; and the record of its life, as we have it here, is very like his life. It pretends nothing, yet it suggests much; it claims no kind of authority, but gently reveals a beautiful nature full of simplicity, kindness, and obedient to high ideals.

David Thomas was born at Merthyr Tydvil in 1811. His mother was a Calvinistic Methodist, who had lost her husband when David was but a child. She was serious, strict, but not severe—deeply concerned to educate and worthily rear her boy. We read:—

One of Mr. Thomas's earliest recollections was that of being taken by her to the prayer-meetings in which she delighted, and which she would sometimes attend, at one chapel or another, three or four evenings in the week.

At these meetings her little companion was no unwilling attendant. He seems to have entered very early into the spirit of them, and soon learnt to share in his mother's sentiments and enjoyments. This was owing partly, no doubt, to the natural strength of the religious element within him; but it may also be attributed, in part, to the fact that among the Calvinistic Methodists it is customary to regard the children who have been baptized, and whose parents are esteemed Christians, as themselves connected with the Church, and to notice them, and consult their interests and requirements, to an extent which is, probably, unusual in any other religious body. This admirable custom must necessarily give to the children of the church a charm and significance in its services which they cannot possess where it is not observed. David was admitted a full member of the church to which his mother belonged when he was fifteen years of age.

At this time religious meetings were his greatest delight, and in after life, as they returned to his memory, they were invested with all the air and charm of a romance. The Welsh hills, he used to say, reverberated with the voices of the old Welsh preachers, as he had heard them in his boyhood.

The lad was sent to a good school, where he had for fellow scholars Mr. Petherick, the African traveller, and Sir W. James, now Lord Justice of the Court of Appeal. He left it when he was sixteen, and became a clerk in a London banking-house, where he remained for two years. "He always looked back with interest upon the time which he spent in the bank, and there is no doubt that the knowledge of business which he acquired while he was connected with it was a very useful element in the education by which he was fitted for the manifold duties which he was afterwards called upon to fulfil as a Christian minister."

But from the first his desire had been towards the ministry; and, applying, he was accepted as a student at Highbury College, where he became the intimate friend of Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., who has contributed to this volume some excellent recollections of these days. After two years at Highbury he went down to Glasgow, determined to do something to perfect his education there, which he did amidst some difficulties, such as students in Scotland are no strangers to. He then preached for six months in Leicester with great acceptance, went back to Glasgow for a session, and took his B.A. degree, then settled in Bristol, married, and before the first year was out lost his wife, a niece of the well-known Joseph Cottle, with whom Mr. Thomas afterwards stayed. At this time he became acquainted with the celebrated John Foster, and soon began to be spoken of as a preacher of deep thought and penetrating earnestness, drawing such men as Mr. Crabb Robinson to his chapel. He married again in 1839, Miss Eliza Leonard, and in spite of invitations to other places, he clung to Bristol, with which his name is undividedly identified. He suffered much from ill-health, and had frequently to go abroad in search of strength; but in spite of these drawbacks, he drew together and sustained a large, thoughtful, and remarkably cultured congregation.

Mr. Thomas was beyond most a devout man. He was earnest, and held firmly by his convictions, yet far from rigid or exacting. He was inclined to solitude, not from lack of sympathy, but excess of it. He was a thorough lover of nature. We are told that, "In the beauties of nature he found inexhaustible delights. In his boyhood he had been accustomed to spend whole

days by himself in the woods, living upon little but the herbs and berries he could gather; and he rejoiced to find that, the older he grew, the greater became his fondness for natural objects and scenes. The fresh winds and open sky; the broad stretch of the Downs on which he was often in the habit of walking; the flowers—some flowers especially—which he loved to think of as the embodiments of the Creator's thoughts; all outward things, indeed, that were beautiful and pure, were sources of pleasure of which he never grew weary. And he had many opportunities of visiting the most favoured haunts of the spirit of natural loveliness. He knew his own country well, and he knew Switzerland almost as well, and loved her mountains as though they had been personal friends, so that he longed after their companionship, and missed them, as he once said after he had returned home, "as if he had lost a child."

Like Mr. Thomas most lovers of nature loved Wordsworth, and made him an inseparable companion—not blindly worshipping, but drinking in strength from the high spirit which he breathes. "He was unable, he said, to express what it was he found so soothing in Wordsworth's poetry. He found a repose in it, a harmonising, quieting influence which he found in no other writer, and when he was feeling unwell, or vexed, it was the best medicine he could take. In the very words there was a charm that served to tranquillise his spirit, and sometimes lulled him to sleep when he was anxious and wakeful. He knew every part of the 'Excursion' well, and could lay his hand, at once, on any passage. The whole poem he declared to be 'delicious.'"

He was very observant and very abreast—keen in watching men and apt in characterising them. This on Napoleon the Third shows that:—

Paris.—Walked for a couple of hours and admired the vast improvements in the city. It is truly a magnificent place. If this Louis Napoleon could make the people he governs as beautiful as he has made their chief city! He will find that there are elements in human nature not to be wrought upon so easily as the stones and mortar of the capital. His success hitherto is something wonderful, but it is impossible he can go on for ever as he has done. A people like these will not always bear to have his hard hand on their mouth and pen.

Of the sermons here given we must say that they are remarkable for clear, well-sustained thought, each part dependent on the rest and developed out of it. There is nothing rhetorical, rather a lack of illustration; but a pervading enthusiasm qualified by the most exalting simplicity and directness of style. You never miss the meaning; for Mr. Thomas is as concerned to make each sentence clear as to gain a complete unity in the whole. We regard that sermon titled "Communion with God," as one of the most remarkable and structurally complete that we have ever read. We regret that we cannot find time to speak of Dr. Stoughton's most genial and discriminating "address at the grave," or to give extracts from the sermons; but we feel we shall have done greater justice to ourselves, and have conferred the greater favour on our readers, if, by this course, we shall have succeeded in sending them to the volume itself. But we cannot part from the volume without presenting this most touching record of the last scene:—

All through the last night he suffered severely—so severely that he was not able to say many words, and those that he did speak had reference chiefly to his sufferings. "My God," he exclaimed once, "knows what I am enduring." And at another time, "My God knows all my mind." He said, also, that Jessie had asked him "not to be long," and that he should not be long; and begged that his love might be given to his absent children, and to his congregation. After several hours of weary strife and pain, the doctor, who had just been administering a soothing draught, asked him how he felt: "Dying!" he replied; "dying! dying!" in fainter and fainter tones; then there came a peculiar glow and brightness over his face, and before any of those around him could realise what was happening, he passed into the presence of the Lord. The shock to those whom he left behind was terrible, unspeakable. But they could not weep for him. It had been with him as he had wished. Writing to his wife in 1845, he had said, "What a fine thing was that closing scene in Arnold's life: may any end be like his!" So, in the mercy of God, it was.

THE PRINCE'S TOUR IN INDIA.*

Mr. Gay's volume has a certain value in being the first permanent record given of the Prince's Indian tour. It will no doubt find an extensive public, and be read by them with interest. It is a pity that Mr. Gay did not more thoroughly remodel and recast it, for there is a considerable bulk of really good matter. The marks of its special purpose are all too visible upon it:

* From *Pall Mall to the Panjab*; or, with the Prince in India. By J. DREW GAY, Special Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*. With Illustrations. (Chatto and Windus.)

* *Memorials of David Thomas, B.A., of Bristol*. Edited by his Son, H. ARNOLD THOMAS, M.A. (Hadden and Stoughton.)

and we regret to say that this is most evident in the very first chapter, where even the pronoun "you" is used as it should scarcely be in a book. Besides, there is necessarily a deal in it of the purely evanescent kind, which is in relation to literature very much like those effervescent drinks now in vogue, which, being once poured out, are not to be returned to with relish after an interval. And now and then, too, we have too great an approach to the faults of style, for which the *Telegraph* has so often been taken to task by its notorious censor—the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Mr. Gay, knowing how he is likely to be watched in these matters, really should not have passed such expressions as an "incentive to satisfaction," or such sentences as this on the native habit of painting the face:—"Then there is the additional charm that an act of ornamentation is at the same time an act of devotion. It is combining business with pleasure, satisfying conscience and pleasing the mind—a two-handed comfort which renders the body a 'thing of beauty,' and morally constitutes it 'a joy for ever.'" This is the slang of quotation—nothing less.

The general impression derived from the book as a record of spectacles is somewhat painful. No doubt the Prince went for certain purposes, in which political reasons had their own weight; and it was quite advisable for him to see Indian life, so far as he could see it, exactly as it is; but some of the elephant fights, and rhinoceros fights and so on, are far from edifying to read of, and one cannot help regretting that the presence of an English prince seemed to give sanction to them, and may have its own influence in perpetuating them. If we have put down Suttee and various forms of cruelty that derived a terrible sanction from the religious idea, is it not somewhat inconsistent to seem, even in the remotest way, to encourage forms of brutality and cruelty to animals such as those we despise European nations for persisting in, and lifting to the level of national sports? Mr. Gay is really most interesting when he is not in the track of the Prince at all, or but remotely—as witness his account of the House of Correction at Byculla, from which we are glad to see that industrial labour is more and more finding acceptance in Indian gaols as at home:—

Major Walsh was employing the more deserving and clever of the people under his care in decorative work for the coming festivities. In the room were designs for the saloon in which, a day or two hence, seamen and school-children were to be feasted; and, albeit that the workshop is a prison and the workers convicts, bright pigments and skilful brushes had formed shields and banners which had merit and beauty—such, indeed, as would please the Prince and the people too. Close by were thousands of little tinfoil banners of gold and silver hue, specially formed to decorate the edibles on the tables when the mariners might rest and be thankful. Descending a staircase, we entered an open yard, into which a huge shed opened, and here we saw the continuation of the decorative work. Artificial flowers of every kind—for Bombay knows nothing of real blossoms in November—wreaths, festoons, and brilliant paper hangings of intricate pattern, but admirable construction, were all before us. Thirty or forty men were working away with all their might, not at the degrading shot-drill or disintegration of oakum knots, but with tinted tissues, weaving them tastefully into all kinds of shapes, and learning from the study of art lessons of tenderness and care.

It was a humanizing influence to which they were subjected, and if the royal visit effects no more than the mental improvement of these rough white vagabonds, it will yet have achieved much good. Of course, the whole of the criminals were not under similar training. To provide work for three hundred and fifty of society's outcasts, black and white, is no easy task, and ingenious must be the mind which can make the most of such a mass of labouring power. Major Walsh had done much, as we saw by the carpenters who were making chairs and tables, the men who were weaving mats and making towels, and those, too, who were on the treadmill driving mills and machinery.

That sketch of the concert at the house of the wealthy Mahomedan, too, is good and lively; and the same may be said of the "Eastern Paris," and of a good deal in the chapter, "Life in the Hills." Mr. Gay has considerable descriptive power: he picks out the characteristic point, and knows when to stop; he has all the special correspondent's knack of picking up odds-and-ends and using them effectively; and he can throw in an anecdote with no little effect. This is an instance in his account of Lucknow, which, too, has the merit of indicating how staunch was a vein of Indian feeling through all the terrible time:—

"I was standing by this well, sir," said an old Sikh to me, as we passed through the Residency, "saying prayers to my God, when two bullets came and killed an English officer who was on one side of me, and a comrade who stood on the other. I come to this well every year now to say a prayer, and that is why I am here to-day." It was a grand old veteran who thus spoke, one who had been presented to the Prince the previous day, on whose breast four medals and the star, which bears the words "For Valour," hung; so we thankfully accepted his offer to guide a portion of the party over the ground so bravely held by Sir Henry Lawrence.

The little sketch of Cawnpore, so often

described, is also done with skill. This is the account of the Memorial Well:—

The first place to which we drove was the well, situated in the centre of magnificent gardens, at the gates of which all natives were requested to remain. Slowly moving up the pathway between richly-flowering beds of roses, the cuttings for which had come from England, we came at last to the Memorial, "sacred to the perpetual memory of the slain. As is already well known, the well is covered with a marble seraph, which, with outstretched wings, watches over the place where the dead were hidden. I cannot describe the effect of the bright moon's rays on the white marble work—how the whole memorial stood out in its lonely grandeur on that delightful night. They did well to exclude natives from the place; the feeling aroused by the sight of that memorial and the adjacent graveyard is not congenial to them. The slaughter-house where women and children were hacked to pieces is gone, but scores of graves, some with monuments erected by "passers by," by "brother-soldiers," by "men of the regiment," and some without either name or date, tell their own story. Over each hang roses from England; the grass is carefully tended, the pathway admirably kept. If they must be buried in alien soil, no more beautiful spot could be discovered in the world.

MR. BROWNE'S "HOLY TRUTH."

The subordinate titles which are added, to describe more fully the intention of this book, are, "The Coming Reformation, Universal and Eternal Because Founded on Demonstrable Truth" and "Science and Religion Reconciled." The long preface and introduction of twenty-two pages is a continuation of the same trumpet-blast which opens on the title-page, mingled with not a little defiance of imaginary antagonists, revilers, traducers, scientific professors, theological teachers, and all others who are supposed to be committed to a belief in old creeds and forms of thought and worship. On reading all this we thought—well, Mr. Browne is not a modest man, he doubles his fists in rather a truculent and pugnacious attitude, he is a little too proud of his own superiority to the ordinary instruments by which earnest and thoughtful men attempt to prepare themselves for influencing their fellows, such as education and sympathy with the moral and spiritual import of the error they attack. But he has probably found out something worth knowing. Such an imposing prelude must certainly lead to valuable and original disclosures. And so we read on with as open and confiding a disposition as we could manage to bring to the audience of so oracular a teacher.

Chapter one is entitled "The Holy Truth." Here we thought is the commencement of the new illumination, and we read with eager expectation, and found nothing. We began chapter two a little disappointed, and with our ardour somewhat damped. But still we thought that this long chapter of over 200 pages would contain the promised revelation—but it didn't; so we skimmed the rest of the book, and came to the conclusion that the motto of the title-page ought to have been "In the Name of the Prophet—Figs."

Our readers will naturally ask what there really is in the book to justify the imposing pretensions of the title-page and preface, and what are the discoveries which Mr. Browne supposes himself to have made? In a word, Mr. Browne is a Spiritualist, whose whole mind is so saturated and infiltrated with the very commonplace communications which he, with astounding greenness, supposes he has received from the shades of William Shakespeare, Ben Johnson, and other more or less illustrious immortals, that he desires to supersede by these communications all the religious and theological systems that the world possesses, and to construct a new quasi-philosophico-religious system, founded on what he, good easy man! regards as demonstrable facts. When a man comes with such an audacious programme as this, we have no hesitation in saying that he has no claim to be listened to at all, and that it is sheer waste of time to read his book.

Let our readers well understand our position. We do not pre-judge Spiritualism, because we ignore the claims of the Prophet Browne. From the standpoint of Spiritualism itself we could affirm that Mr. Browne's claim is ridiculous, and his teaching folly. In the first place Mr. Browne's philosophy of religious reformation is utterly shallow and superficial. He is victimised by half truths, which come to him as plausible and forcible dogmas which look like truisms, but are really neither true nor false in themselves, but are likely to be very delusive if they are applied in a hasty and unreflective way. Mr. Browne allows himself to be, so to speak, bullied by these dogmas, he is straightway collared and taken into custody by them, and incarcerated in the dark cells of a few commonplace. What wonder if he next appears before the guardians of theologic peace as palpably

* *The Holy Truth*. By HUGH JUNIOR BROWNE. (London: Arthur Hall and Co.)

staggering and incapable! Thus because every one knows that candour and impartiality are essential to a fair investigation of truth he asks his readers to receive his teachings, "un-biased by former teachings or preconceived ideas." We can only say—we won't—we accept our own bias—we have a strong reverence for prestige, and we do not think anyone has the qualities necessary for a judicial investigation of new theories who can approach them without feeling that their weight must be prodigious indeed if they are to ignore and set aside the Christian consciousness of nineteen centuries. As another specimen of the small truisms which, in Mr. Browne's mind, swell into large sophisms, is the demand he makes that our own individual reason should be the final court of appeal to which everything in heaven or earth should be brought. Of course any amount of "tall talk" can be expended on this topic; and after all has been said, no one who does not wish to indulge in intellectual *sans-culottism*, and cast off all the mental and spiritual garments which he has received from his forefathers, will dare to apply these small maxims to any conceivable topic without guarding himself by so many restrictions and precautions that the original maxim is quite overlaid by them. In truth, any one individual reason is like the field of a microscope or telescope. The object immediately under inspection may be reported on with tolerable accuracy. But if it is supposed that this limited observation will immediately qualify the observer to assign to the objects which he sees their precise relation to the universe of which they form an infinitesimal portion, the observer will soon find himself where Mr. Browne is, in chaos. Mr. Browne has discovered a pair of wings and attempts to fly, utterly unconscious that they are waxen—and the necessary result is collapse. It is true his invisible guides do not seem to be much wiser than himself. Thus among a miscellaneous selection of short utterances which profess to come from the unseen world, and perhaps do actually so come, are such specimens of nonsense as the following:—"Dogma is and has been the curse of the world;" "Man, before he can become free, must bury his old reverence for antiquity;" "The only Word of God possessed by man is the creation which he beholds." "The Holy Truth" will never emanate from guides who can enunciate such feeble fallacies as these. For Mr. Browne himself we can only say that we distrust alike his guides and his guidance; we respect his earnestness and self-reliance; we deprecate his absolute want of reverence for the past; we strongly disapprove of the implicit and unquestioning reliance with which he receives all the teachings which he receives, or fancies he receives, from the spirit world; and we offer him to our readers as a specimen of the inglorious intellectual bankruptcy which is likely to overtake any one who tries to construct a system of religion out of his own inner consciousness, and cuts himself adrift from history, antiquity, and the common-sense and consciousness of the age in which he lives.

Epitome of News.

The Queen and Princess Beatrice went to the parish church of Crathie on Sunday. The Rev. Dr. Donald Macleod officiated, and dined with the Queen in the evening. Her Majesty will return from Scotland to Windsor on the 22nd inst.

It appears from what occurred at the last meeting of the Court of Common Council that Her Majesty regretted her inability to be present at the Guildhall fête in honour of the Prince of Wales on the ground that "she does not go to public entertainments."

The Prince and Princess of Wales and their family arrived at Windsor on Monday afternoon from Sandringham, and drove through the town to New Lodge. During the Ascot week the Prince and Princess will entertain a large company.

The Duke of Connaught has been a frequent visitor in the family circle of the ex-King of Hanover during their sojourn in London, and he has accompanied the Princess Frederica in visiting several public places.

The King of the Belgians left Balmoral Castle on Saturday morning on his return to Belgium. He embarked on Saturday at Woolwich for Ostend.

Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson on Saturday brought to a close a four days' sale of valuable manuscripts, the total amount realised having been 12,000*l*.

Count Schouvaloff, the Russian Ambassador, returned to London on Friday from the continent.

Mr. Jefferson Davis, accompanied by his wife and family, arrived at Liverpool on Monday, in the Memphis, from New Orleans.

George Walter Thornbury, the well-known author, died on Sunday, at the age of forty-eight. On Sunday evening, as the Rev. G. H. Davies, rector of Compton, near Guildford, was pronouncing

the benediction at his church, he fell back in the pulpit and expired in a few moments.

The Prime Minister, after the banquet to the Prince and Princess of Wales on the 24th inst., will have a reception of the guests invited to meet their royal highnesses at the Foreign Office exceeding 1800 members of the aristocracy, the diplomatic corps, and members of the House of Commons, without distinction of party.

The Prince of Wales will review the volunteer force belonging to London and its vicinity in Hyde Park on Saturday, July 1.

Mr. W. Davies, of Haverfordwest, will be the Liberal candidate for Pembrokeshire, and Mr. J. B. Bowen has been chosen by the Conservatives. An address in the Conservative interest has also been issued by Mr. Walter Wood, who states that he is not prepared to oppose the principle of Mr. Osborne Morgan's Burials Bill.

The Rev. G. C. Bell, head master of Christ's Hospital, was on Monday elected head master of Marlborough College, in the room of Dr. Farrar, the new Canon of Westminster.

It is reported that Mr. George Dixon, one of the members for Birmingham, will retire at the close of this present session, and that Mr. Chamberlain, the present mayor of the borough, will be a candidate for the vacant seat.

The bodies of King Louis Philippe, Queen Marie Amélie, the Duchess d'Orléans, the Duchess d'Aumale, the Prince de Condé, and others were despatched on Thursday morning in the steamer *Samphire* for Honfleur, having been conveyed by special train from Weybridge Roman Catholic Chapel. The number of corpses on board the *Samphire* was nine—viz., four adults and five children. There was also a heart in an urn. The vessel was draped with black, and on steaming out it ran up the English flag and the tricolour half-mast high. The bodies have been buried in the family mausoleum at Dreux, where King Louis Philippe while living had arranged for the tombs. The consent of Marshal MacMahon had been previously obtained.

On Saturday evening the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress entertained at the Mansion House over two hundred guests, all more or less directly connected with the world of art.

A little before noon on Sunday a terrible boat accident occurred off Eastbourne, by which twelve persons, nearly all of them young men of the artisan class, lost their lives. Only one out of the thirteen persons on board escaped. The catastrophe was due, it is reported, to a sudden gust of wind, causing the boat—a fishing lugger—to heel over and ultimately to capsize from the rushing of her passengers to the leeward side.

The Cunard Company have just decided to send three of their steamers to the Clyde to be laid up in consequence of the present great depression in the Atlantic shipping trade.

Mr. Rylands will move on the second reading of the Prisons Bill. "That this House, whilst recognising the necessity of measures being adopted to secure economy and efficiency in the management of prisons, is of opinion that it would be inexpedient to transfer the control and management of prisons from local authorities to the Secretary of State."

Whilst travelling between Glasgow and Edinburgh on Friday, a North British goods train ran off the rails. Before the line could be cleared, a well-filled passenger train for the north dashed into the displaced wagons. The only person seriously hurt was the engine driver.

On Friday a new board school, making the one hundred and eightieth which has been built under the direction of the School Board for London, was opened at Wandsworth, Sir E. H. Currie, Vice-Chairman of the Board, presiding.

George Elliott, aged seventeen, whilst at Sheffield fair on Tuesday ate so much that he afterwards died from gluttony. A potato pie, a plum pudding, some gingerbread, a rice pudding, five squares of Yorkshire pudding, three basins of soup, beer, lemonade and water constituted his dinner on the occasion. At the inquest it was stated that death was caused by inflammation of the stomach.

The *Standard* says that preparations have been made for despatching to Malta medical stores for 5,000 men, in addition to the strength of the squadron at present in the Mediterranean.

The natives of India resident in London, having expressed a desire to present an address to Sir Salar Jung, have been informed by his secretary that Sir Salar is too ill to receive any address at present.

It is stated that the Admiralty has provisionally chartered at Bristol a large number of merchant vessels and steamers, which, with their crews, are to be immediately placed at the disposal of the Government in the event of war.

An expedition left England on Saturday for the purpose of exploring North-West Africa, and of ascertaining whether the waters of the Atlantic can be admitted into that portion of the Desert of Sahara known as El Juf. It is intended also to survey the coast for a harbour to enter into friendly relations with the natives. The British and Foreign Bible Society has made a grant of Arabic Bibles for distribution among them.

The planet Venus is at the present time visible in broad daylight to the naked eye. It is now situated about midway between the sun and moon.

"The ladies—sweet briars in the garden of life"—was the toast of an old bachelor at a public dinner.

THE REVOLUTION IN TURKEY.

Abundant details have been published of the incidents of the late revolution in Constantinople. It seems that the new Ministry under Rushdi Pasha, which came into power after the forced retirement of Mahmoud Pasha, found themselves unable to persuade the Sultan frankly to adopt their policy, and they resolved to depose him. This was to have been effected about noon on the 30th, but the secret was somehow communicated to Abdul Aziz, who summoned to his presence the Minister of War, Hussein Avni Pasha, however, declined to present himself, feigning illness. It was resolved by the conspirators to take immediate action. A council of all the Ministers was called together at the Seraskierat or War Office, to which were admitted the Sheikh-ul-Islam, Halroullah Effendi; Nazif Pasha, Seid Bey, and a considerable number of Ulemas, Mollahs, and other Church and State dignitaries. There the Sheikh-ul-Islam, as first interpreter of Koran law, gave sentence that the Sultan could be lawfully dethroned, and that Mehmed Murad Effendi, nephew of Sultan Abdul Aziz, and eldest son of the late Sultan Abdul Medjid, as the oldest surviving male of the Imperial dynasty, should by right be called to the succession. The resolution was approved by the Council without a dissentient voice. In the meanwhile every precaution was taken in placing the various military divisions and the fleet under safe leadership. Murad was informed of the decision come to as to the deposition of Abdul Aziz, and of his own elevation. He sent word he could only consent to become Sultan at the will of the people.

On the receipt of this reply, which was nearly an hour after midnight of Monday, Hussein Avni, with seventy soldiers, betook himself to the Palace of Dolma Baghche, the same building as that in which Sultan Abdul Aziz was living, though in a different wing, and at a distance of upwards of two miles. The only carriage which could be obtained was that of a Greek banker, M. Cristaki. With this, for the conveyance of the future Sultan, the Ministers made their way to Serkesio Skollissi, a wharf on the Stamboul side of the Golden Horn, whence, leaving their carriage, they went by caik to the palace. Hussein Avni, having first seen that the palace was properly surrounded, accompanied by two officers on whom he could rely, entered the portion of the palace in which for some years Prince Murad has been practically a prisoner. At every gateway as he entered he stationed men, with orders to allow no one whatever to pass. At length he reached Prince Murad, who seems again to have hesitated; whereupon the story runs that Hussein Avni took a pistol from his bosom, and, offering it to Murad, suggested to him that he should blow out his (Hussein Avni's) brains if in any part of the route to the Seraskierat he should see reason to believe that he had been led into danger. On this or other assurance Murad hastily dressed himself and accompanied Hussein Avni by water to the landing-place above mentioned. It was raining heavily, and the journey had to be done in an open caik without more shelter than an umbrella, held over his head by Hussein Avni, afforded. On landing in Stamboul a thousand people, though in the middle of a stormy night, had assembled to congratulate the coming Sultan. Accompanied by this small crowd he made his way in Christak Effendi's carriage to the Seraskierat. There a larger crowd had already gathered. He was met by a deputation of Softas and Ulemas; and as day broke in presence of this crowd the B-iat or Proclamation of Sovereignty was read by Abdul Muhtaleb, the Grand Sheriff of Mecca. His first written command or irade, which declared that Abdul Aziz was deposed, was then given to Hussein Avni Pasha, who handed it to Redif, with instructions to see the deposed Sovereign removed from the Palace of Dolma Baghche to Top Capou. Upon the reading of the B-iat, in the eyes of all good Turks, Abdul Aziz was deposed and Murad reigned in his stead. The two watch towers of the Seraskierat and of Galata displayed the flag which (except that it is also a regimental flag) is only hoisted on the accession of a new Sultan to the throne. At about six o'clock in the morning, the land batteries fired a salute of one hundred and one guns. The iron-clads answered. While the guns were awakening the dwellers in the villages on the Bosphorus and other suburbs of the capital, heralds and watchmen were crying out in the streets the official formula announcing the event which had taken place. This was:—"Prince Murad has been proclaimed Emperor of the Ottoman Turks. Abdul Aziz is dethroned. May Allah help Murad, and forgive the faults of Abdul Aziz." At the same time telegrams in the following terms were sent off to the governors of the provinces and of the tributary States:—"Abdul Aziz Khan is deposed in conformity with the unanimous will of the nation. The legitimate heir to the throne, Murad the Fifth, is proclaimed Sovereign. May God help him. Publish on every hand his accession to the throne."

While these proceedings had been taking place in regard to the election of the new Sultan, the old one, Abdul Aziz, was sleeping in happy unconsciousness of what was being done.

He had sat up till one o'clock witnessing one of the Turkish comedies played by silhouettes. This is one of the favourite family amusements of wealthy Turks, and the fun is considered to be proportionate to the amount of coarseness which can be crowded into the play. Between two and three in the morning Redif Pasha, already mentioned as chief of the military staff, and of course under Hussein Avni, was sent by the latter to the Palace. He went by land. Arif Pasha, who holds a high naval command, at the same time made his way with a large caik to the water-gate of the Palace. He was attended by a large number of boats from the men-of-war opposite, and had to await orders. Redif entered the Palace, which was still, as before, surrounded by troops and sailors. Everything was done in the most complete silence. Having found the First Chamberlain, he sent him to demand an audience with Sultan Abdul Aziz, stating that he had an important message to communicate. The Chamberlain and secretary found His

Majesty asleep. When their business was announced he is said to have been furious. "Why had they awakened him? What message could there be which would not keep until morning? Tell Redif to return in the morning." Then, upon conveying this reply, Redif had to tell the Chamberlain what the message was, if indeed, he was not already, as rumour says, in the plot. This time Redif followed the officers into His Majesty's room and told him that he was commanded by Sultan Murad to convey his (late) Majesty to a place which had been designated. The ex-Sultan (as he must now be called) asked at once where Murad was. The answer came that he was at the Seraskierat and had been proclaimed Sultan, he, Abdul Aziz, having been deposed. On hearing this he became like a maniac, declared he was still Padisha and would be obeyed, at the same time threatening the most terrible vengeance against those who should act against him. The Valide Sultana, who has always been the Sultan's civil adviser, was sent for and entered the room. To her inquiry Redif stated calmly that Murad V. had been proclaimed and the nation had been pleased to depose her son. Then the Sultan made a motion to his chamberlain, but Redif at once interfered. "All resistance is useless. Your Majesty may assure yourself of that by looking out of the window." On going there he saw troops on every side with fixed bayonets. He was told that the palace was surrounded, every avenue guarded, and escape impossible. Thereupon he burst into tears. He would concede everything, sign anything, do whatever was wanted. Redif told him that the concessions were too late. His successor had been appointed, and was accepted by the people. Then he became anxious only to save his life. Were they going to kill him? The answer came, "Not unless you resist." There was a caik at the watergate on the Bosphorus. If he would enter it quietly he should be taken to Top Capou, better known to Europeans as the small building which stands near the site of the old palace on Seraglio Point. Seeing that his position was hopeless unless he consented to the demand, he dressed himself, and went with Redif on to the terrace. His children were sent for, and placed in the same boat with him. His mother, the Valide Sultana, with her ladies-in-waiting, were placed in another. The men-of-war's boats clustered thickly round the caik reserved for the prisoner. As he entered, Redif said to Arif Pasha, who had been deputed by Hussein Avni to take him to Seraglio Point, "I give in charge to you the body of Abdul Aziz. You are to take him to Top Capou, and deliver him to an officer indicated. If the slightest resistance is made, kill him and the whole of the party." The caiks then started for their destination. Returning to the palace, Redif took measures to secure the harem. The women were not disturbed more than was absolutely necessary, but guards were placed on every hand, with orders to allow no one to leave the palace. Within the harem was the private treasure-house. This, of course, was strictly guarded as soon as the women could be removed from that part of the building. Sentries were placed in various parts of the palace, and then a large portion of the troops were sent away from Dolma Baghche to Stamboul. Amid pouring rain, which, after a drought of nearly four months, seemed on Tuesday morning to be making up for lost time, and in a cold north-westerly gale, the ex-Sultan was conveyed from his palace to Seraglio Point, a distance of about a mile and a-half.

A few days afterwards came the news that the late Sultan had committed suicide. There has been a very natural incredulity on the subject—nearly all deposed Sultans of preceding reigns having been put to death, mostly by strangling. But the several correspondents at Constantinople give such details as seem to indicate that the fallen sovereign really died by his own hand on Sunday week. For the preceding day or two he had been in a state of savage melancholy, and on the Saturday he aimed a revolver at one of the sentries, which did not go off. On the Sunday he looked and bolted the door of his apartments, and was seen by the women through the window to fall on a sofa. The alarm was given, the doors were forced, and the Sultan was found lying half across the sofa with his feet on the floor, in a great pool of blood, and with the appearance of recent death.

He had, it seems, secreted a small but sharp-pointed pair of embroidery scissors with which he was wont to trim his beard, or which he had borrowed from the Valide, his mother, for that avowed purpose; he had with it very diligently cut off his beard close to the skin, leaving only the thick moustache on the upper lip, probably to disarm any suspicion of those who were watching the operation from the harem windows, or possibly to express by that outward sign the sense of his degradation and desolation, and had then deliberately gone to work, endeavouring to cut the veins of both his arms at the elbow; jobbing the scissors with great determination at both arms, till he succeeded in severing the ulnar artery of the left arm, inflicting a wound or cut which must needs put an end to his life in ten or fifteen minutes. He then allowed himself to bleed to death like an old Roman hero, till he sank exhausted in the posture in which he was found. His face and body were utterly bloodless, his skin white and scrupulously clean, and no bruise or swelling, no trace of a struggle or violence, could anywhere be discovered. At the express request of the Government, a professional examination of the body was made one hour later in a guardroom on the ground floor, where it had been removed, attended by native and foreign doctors, about twenty in number, among whom were Dr. Dickson, the physician attached to Her Majesty's Embassy, and other European surgeons and general practitioners, either belonging to the European embassies or legations, or residents in Pera or Galata; and these gentlemen delivered a certificate, now in print, signed by all of them, and to the effect that the ex-Sultan had died of wounds or cuts which he alone and no other person could possibly have inflicted.

Later in the afternoon the body of the late Sultan was buried with solemn pomp at Mahmoud II.'s monument at Stamboul. The writer of a letter which appears in the *Temps*, declares it to be "an incontestable fact" that Abdul Aziz killed himself, and he gives these reasons:—

The certificate of death is signed by nineteen medical

men, several of whom are Europeans. Among them are the names of M. Marroin, who represents here worthily the science and scrupulous honour of our great French medical body. His name is enough to give supreme authority to this document. His veracity is further attested by MM. Dickson and Sotto, the former the physician to the English, the latter to the Austrian Embassy, as well as by other doctors too well known among us to admit of a suspicion respecting their verdict. Be it also remarked that it would have been materially impossible to assassinate him with the wounds his body bears. Several assassins would have been necessary. Abdul Aziz is strong. He would have defended himself, and he was in his harem with his mother, among his wives, his children, his slaves, most of whom would have covered him with their bodies, and all of whom would have screamed, called for help, and given evidence now against the murderers. It must be further noted that the Mussulmans, if they have often killed their Sultans, have always revolted from shedding their blood; they have got rid of them by strangulation.

Another correspondent says that Abdul Aziz obtained the small pair of scissors with which he bled himself to death from his mother, whom he had previously desired to have a bath heated, and to see herself that it was done properly. When the door of the room in which the ex-Sultan was had been broken open his mother endeavoured to stop the bleeding, and on finding that her efforts were vain she tried to jump out of the window, but was prevented. She was still (the writer says) watched at the date of writing.

A painful incident is said to have occurred during the medical examination—

Among the physicians called in was a certain Omer Pasha, by origin a Slav, who was the private medical adviser of the late Sultan, to whom he owed his all. This miserable creature seeing Hussein Avni Pasha, and believing it would please him, spoke insultingly, in a loud voice, of his benefactor. Hussein Avni Pasha fell into a violent passion, and turning this Pasha out ignominiously, said, "Hence, you wretch! your name would sully the paper among so many honourable names." Then he ordered his arrest, and he will be tried by court-martial.

One of the correspondents mentions another favourable incident relative to Hussein Avni in the first interview between the Ministers and the new Sultan:—

Hitherto, whenever a Minister or other subject has had an audience, it has been regarded as part of his duty to cross his hands and arms upon his stomach, and to look as much like a whipped hound as possible. Anything more utterly disgusting, ridiculous, and contemptuous than the Turkish salute to a superior it is difficult to imagine. Kissing the ground or the hem of the garment is dignified and graceful in comparison. On the occasion of the first audience, the Ministers who had ranged themselves to receive Murad crossed their hands, and tried to look as if they were anxious to sink into the ground. Hussein Avni, however, called out to them to put their hands to their sides. "No more of that nonsense," is said to have been his exclamation, and the new Sultan was received as a man by men. To anyone who knows the cringing servility of even a conquering Eastern race, the incident is significant.

The special correspondent of the *Times*, under date June 3, describes Murad V.'s presentation to the people on the preceding day, which being exceedingly fine, the whole population crowded the thoroughfares to see the new Sultan proceed to the great mosque to attend Divine service:—

The Sultan left the Palace of Dolmabahatche at half-past eleven in a State carriage drawn by four English horses. He was driven along the main street of Galata to the Karakouli Bridge, across the Golden Horn, and through the quarter of the old Seraglio to the Palace of Top-Capou, and alighted at the sanctuary where the *Hirkas* Sheriff, or mantle of the Prophet is preserved. There he was received by the Grand Vizier, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, and a host of Church and State dignitaries; and hence, mounted on a magnificent white palfrey, he proceeded to the great Mosque of St. Sophia. There the Imam praised God for "long life to Sultan Murad, son of Abd-ul-Medjid, Khan Gazi, and grandson of Sultan Mahmoud Gazi." After the prayer the Sultan rode back to the bridge, recrossed it in his carriage on his way back to Dolmabahatche, and reached the Palace about four in the afternoon. In the midst of all that military pomp of the troops of all arms drawn up in bright array all along the line of the Sultan's progress, and in presence of all that splendour of an Imperial retinue, unrivalled in the world for barbaric gorgeousness, men seemed to have no eyes but for that one mild, benevolent face, and for the vastness of the motley crowd that pressed everywhere on to his horse's hoofs. The Sultan's photograph by the Brothers Abdullah is by this time before the world: it is a perfect likeness, and it is no unfair index of a mind and character of which people entertain a favourable but not very exalted opinion. The Sultan is in his thirty-sixth year; he has a handsome brow and fine eyes, good straight features, somewhat marred by a projecting mouth and receding chin. He shaves all his beard with the exception of a thin moustache, and looks younger than he really is. He is not uneducated, speaks French, and is supposed to have inherited some of the feebleness, with much of the uprightness and gentleness, of his father's character. In a quiescent state the countenance has a shade of melancholy, natural to a soft and yielding nature which has too long been browbeaten and sat upon. The crowd, however, saw nothing but perfection in its idol of the moment; and what a crowd it was!—the squalid rabble from Greek, Jew, and Moslem quarters, the throng of carriages with Pashas' wives and Ambassadors' ladies; the colours of gaudily-dressed veiled women, clustering like bees at every window or balcony; the Mollahs, the Dervishes, the Latin priests and monks elbowing their way through the hamsa, the water-carriers, the vendors of oaks and lemonade, and all the hurly-burly of the Galata Bazaar, the bazaar entrance, the landing stairs—all the noise and bustle of three great towns and a hundred villages blended in one swarming mass.

The question as to the amount of the hoards of the late Sultan is not definitely set at rest. The treasures were, however, put under seal and conveyed to the Ministry of Finance, and it is said that they will be used for the payment of arrears of the military and official classes. According to the correspondent of the *Times* the amount is estimated at only 1,500,000*l.* in gold, the jewellery and the shares in the Turkish Loan not being available for immediate purposes. According to Mahometan law all the property of the dethroned Sultan goes to the State. It is asserted that all the property in the shape of money which belonged to the mother of Abdul Aziz has also been confiscated. It would seem that of the total debt of Turkey—about two hundred millions—more than a fourth was absorbed by the late Sultan during the fifteen years of his reign. The late Grand Vizier, Mahmoud Pasha, the evil genius of Abdul Aziz, has been ordered to go on a prolonged tour to Western Europe. A telegram from Constantinople states that the Sheikh-ul-Islam has forbidden the Softas to carry arms or to congregate in the public thoroughfares.

In their usual summer circular relative to the coal trade, Messrs. G. J. Cockerell and Co. mention that the lowest price of the best coal for the present season is 27*s.* per ton, and that the trade, like all others, is suffering from depression, and is still disturbed by strikes. On one point which is of importance to householders, Messrs. Cockerell say:—"We would again call your attention to the fact that the only effectual way of securing moderate prices throughout the year is by purchasing in the summer. For were the house coal trade of London generally postponed to the winter, the difficulties of delivery would be almost insurmountable, and the price during the cold season would be enormously advanced for all classes. Summer purchase also secures delivery in the best possible condition, it being impossible to clean the coal effectually during the short and dark winter days."

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

[A uniform charge of One Shilling (prepaid) is made for announcements under this heading, for which postage-stamps will be received. All such announcements must be authenticated by the name and address of the sender.]

BIRTH.

MIRAMS.—March 26, at Frimley (Melbourne), Victoria, the wife of Mr. Edward Mirams, bookseller and postmaster, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

MARTIN—CASTON.—March 15, at the South Brisbane Congregational Church, Queensland, by the Rev. Samuel Savage, Thomas Martin, of River-terrace, South Brisbane, to Margaret Anna, eldest daughter of Nathaniel Caston, of South Brisbane.

HOLYMAN—SPENCER.—June 3, at Congregational Church, Upper Lewisham-road, Ebenezer, son of the late Mr. W. Holyman, of London, to Lucy Maria, daughter of Mr. C. Spencer, of St. John's, Manor-road, Upper Lewisham-road.

COWLES—FENTON.—June 5, at Brixton Independent Church, Edward James, son of Mr. E. Cowles, of Streatham, to Sarah Ann Cecilia, daughter of Mr. J. Fenton, Brixton.

ROOKE—HOUSTON.—June 6, at Manvers-street Chapel, Bath, by the Rev. Spencer Murch, Thomas George Rooke, of Sheppard's Barton, Frome, to Amelia Morgan, second daughter of Henry Houston, of the Elms, Frome.

BROOK—CLOWES.—June 8, at Camden road Baptist Chapel, by the Rev. F. Tucker, B.A., Edwin Frederick Brook, of Holborn and Holloway, to Sarah, daughter of the late Rev. Francis Clowes.

DEATHS.

SKEATS.—June 10, in the 17th year of her age, at Welland House, Forest Hill, the residence of her grandfather, Mr. E. Miall, Mary Louisa (Polly), eldest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert S. Skeats.

KELLY.—June 12, at 18, Richmond-terrace, Liverpool, the Rev. John Kelly, aged 74 years. Friends will please accept this intimation.

ALEXANDER.—On the 13th inst. at the residence of her daughter, Eaton Hall, Norwich, Priscilla, widow of Rev. John Alexander, in the 83rd year of her age.

HOLLOWAY'S PILLS.—Any dyspeptic sufferer aware of the purifying, regulating, and gently aperient powers of these Pills should permit no one to cloud his judgment or to warp his course. With a box of Holloway's Pills and attention to its accompanying directions he may feel thoroughly satisfied that he can safely and effectually release himself from his miseries which are impairing his appetite or distressing his digestion. By aiding natural nutrition this excellent medicine raises the bodily strength to its extreme, banishes a thousand annoying forms of nervous complaints. An occasional resort to Holloway's remedy will prove highly salutary to all persons, whether well or ill, whose digestion is slow or imperfect, usually evidenced by weariness, listlessness, and despondency.

THE "PARAGON" FRAGRANT LIQUID DENTIFRICE is pronounced by the Press, and several eminent dentists and physicians, the best Dentifrice in the world. It thoroughly cleanses and makes the teeth beautifully white, prevents tartar, and arrests decay. Being an antiseptic and astringent, it removes all disagreeable odour, from whatever cause arising, sweetens the breath, hardens the gums, prevents and fixes loose teeth. The "Paragon" has a most exquisite and delicate fragrance, and a flavour so delicious that it causes universal admiration. Sold in bottles at 1*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* by all chemists and perfumers, or sent to any address, carriage paid, for 15 or 33 stamps, by the sole proprietor, J. H. Ewen, 91, Wigmore-street, Cavendish-square, London, W.

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Sir,—I am able to certify that I have used your Magnetine Appliances pretty largely in my practice, and that in personal convenience to my patients they are unexceptionable, and far superior to any other inventions of the kind which I have employed; and that of their efficacy, their positive powers, I have no doubt. I have found them useful in constipation, in abdominal congestion, in neuralgia, and in many cases involving weakness of the spine, and of the great organs of the abdomen. In the public interest I wish you to use my unqualified testimony in favour of your Magnetine Appliances.

I remain, yours faithfully,
GARTH WILKINSON,
M.D., M.R.C.S.E.

From the Rev. JOHN STOCK, LL.D.

Quarby Lodge, Huddersfield.
Messrs. Darlow and Co.

GENTLEMEN,—I have derived immense benefit myself from wearing one of your "Knee Caps." I was troubled with rheumatism in the knee, which was gradually becoming stiff, but your "Knee Cap" soon removed every unpleasant symptom. I had left off the Cap for months, but this winter weather has provoked a return of the symptoms, and now I am wearing the Cap again, and with a renewal of all the beneficial results formerly enjoyed. You may make what use you please of my case.

Yours truly,
JOHN STOCK.

December, 1875.

DARLOW'S

PATENT

MAGNETINE

CURATIVE

APPLIANCES.

From the Rev. T. MICHAEL.

Halifax, Yorks, March 3, 1876.

DARLOW'S

PATENT

FLEXIBLE

MAGNETIC

APPLIANCES.

GENTLEMEN,—I have received benefit, of a very appreciable character, from wearing one of your Magnetine Appliances on my chest. This time last year I suffered painfully from acute bronchitis, and dreaded a return of the malady. I am happy to be able to say I have been free up to this hour, and desire most sincerely that your effective means of relief may be more widely made known. I may further state that I know a case in which one of your pads has been of great service in strengthening a weak joint. These testimonies are genuine, and are voluntarily sent for such use as may seem good to you.

Yours truly,
T. MICHAEL.Baptist Minister.
Messrs. Darlow and Co.

From the Rev. GEORGE REYNOLDS.

8, Barnes-street, Stepney.
Dec. 18, 1874.

DEAR SIR,—Having for some time been in a very low nervous state, I was recommended by Mr. Banks, printer, Racquet-court, Fleet-street, to consult you on my case, and by your advice began to wear your Magnetine Appliances; ever since so doing I have been an altered person, my mind has been more vigorous, and my spirits much higher; in fact, I have been quite well. As a rule I have not much confidence in universal remedies, but the results in my own case have been so satisfactory that I have recommended the Magnetine to several of my friends, and am pleased to say that in every instance it has proved beneficial. You are quite welcome to give publicity to this letter, and I shall be happy to answer any inquiries.

I am, yours truly, GEO. REYNOLDS,
To Mr. Darlow. Baptist Minister.

MAGNETINE.—Many sufferers have failed to obtain relief from Magnetism from no other cause than that the magnetic power of the articles worn by them has been too feeble to reach the morbid parts. Messrs. Darlow and Co., therefore, in consequence of complaints they are continually receiving, feel it incumbent upon them to warn the public against many appliances made in imitation of the genuine MAGNETINE Appliances, but which, on examination, are found to be articles of very inferior manufacture.

DARLOW & CO.,

Inventors and Sole Proprietors,
443, WEST STRAND, LONDON, W.C., 443,

OPPOSITE CHARING CROSS RAILWAY STATION.

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Published by W. R. WILLCOX, at No. 18, Boulevard Street, London; and Printed by R. K. BURT and Co., Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, London.—Wednesday, June 14, 1876.